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No. 1085



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INTERNATIONAL

U.S. TRIES TO VIOLATE MILITARY PARITY, UNDERMINE DETENTE

Moscow POLITICHESKOYE SAMOOBRAZOVANIYE in Russian No 9, 1980 pp. 14-22

[Article by S. Lusev: "The Present International Situation and the Fate of Detente"]

[Text] The June (1980) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee emphasized, with new vigor, the irrevocability of the foreign policy course worked out by the 24th and 25th congresses of our party, one of the most important components of which is a line of peaceful coexistence among states with different social structures, restraining the arms race, and preserving and developing detente. The CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet government are displaying truly Leninist patience and principles in the present complex international situation, defending and implementing this line, insuring the security of the Soviet people, and offering a worthy repulse to imperialist claims.

The Communist Party attaches primary significance to keeping our state's foreign policy firm in defense of the interests of the Soviet people and the great achievements of socialism, and uncompromising in relation to aggressors, but at the same time flexible and realistic.

Progressive international society notes unanimously that it is precisely the Soviet Union, the CPSU, and its Central Committee that are displaying great historical responsibility in a fundamental issue of modern times: how to make the peace truly sound and indestructible, to achieve transformation of detente into a universal and irreversible process, and to promote its metamorphosis into a system of stable, fruitful, peaceful cooperation among nations.

Since the very first days following the conclusion of World War II our country has persistently, stubbornly, and patiently built the edifice of peace in Europe--on a continent where world wars began twice during the life span of the present generation. It is precisely owing to the scientifically grounded, realistic policy of the Soviet Union and fraternal socialist countries that the peoples of our continent have now been living in peace for 35 years.

Responding to questions posed by the editor's office of PRAVDA in connection with the fifth anniversary of the Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev noted:

"The main thing is to find a way to reduce the military threat, today and in the future, in Europe and, consequently, in the entire world. And this task would be impossible without real changes in the area of arms race limitation.

"And so, detente, cooperation, security--such is the general line of our party and the Soviet state in European affairs, as well as in world policy in general."

Our country is supporting this course by substantial, concrete actions. Despite the fact that the USA and the NATO military bloc are charging up international tension and causing the arms race in Europe to spiral upward, the Soviet Union consistently implemented its decision to withdraw up to 20,000 military servicemen, thousands of tanks, and a certain quantity of military equipment from the GDR into the USSR. This action, dictated by a sincere desire to encourage efforts at achieving military relaxation in Europe and to provide an example of real action in this direction, was completed by 1 August of the present year.

Guiding themselves by decisions adopted in the May conference of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Pact states, the socialist countries are also working persistently for a turning point in the Vienna talks on mutual reduction of armed forces and arms in Central Europe, which have now been marching in place for more than 7 years at the fault of the NATO powers, mainly the USA and the FRG.

Striving to achieve concrete, mutually acceptable results, on 10 July of this year the USSR, the GDR, Poland, and Czechoslovakia submitted far-reaching compromise proposals at Vienna, creating real possibilities for concluding, in the near future, agreements on reducing Soviet and American troops. According to this new initiative, troops of the USSR and the USA in Central Europe are to be reduced in the first phase respectively by 20,000 and 13,000 men, which takes account of their present strength. Were we to consider in this case the Soviet servicemen who were withdrawn unilaterally from the GDR, this would mean a sum total of more than 50,000 servicemen leaving Central Europe. Then, following these reductions, the proposal is to establish an equal collective troop strength in this region for NATO and the Warsaw Pact-- 900,000 men each.

Implementation of the proposals of the socialist countries would be an important practical step on the road to deepening political detente in Europe, its supplementation by detente in the military area, and reinforcement of our continent's security and of trust among states.

* * *

As is noted in the decree "On the International Situation and the Foreign Policy of the Soviet Union" adopted by the June Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, the recent positive processes "have been countered by aggressive imperialist forces with a policy dictated by a reluctance to accept the realities of the modern world-- the stronger positions of socialism, the successes of the national liberation movement, and growth in the freedom-loving democratic forces in general.... The leaders of the NATO military bloc, and mainly the USA, have accepted a course of disturbing the military balance that has evolved in the world, in its favor and at the expense of the Soviet Union and the socialist countries, at the expense of international detente and the security of nations."

Such are the grounds for imperialism's line of intensifying the arms race, creating provocations against socialist and other independent states, encouraging militarist activity by NATO, and broadening its functions as a tool of imperialist dictatorship. Last year's decision by the NATO Council to produce and locate, in West Europe, about 600 new American cruise missiles and medium-range missiles, as an addition to the forward-based American nuclear resources already there, was the most dangerous manifestation of this aggressive course.

Recall that it was already a long time ago that the Pentagon deployed a large quantity of forward-based nuclear resources in Europe and on the Mediterranean Sea, aimed at the USSR and its allies. I am referring to bombers based in England and the FRG, the Phantom fighter-bombers armed with nuclear weapons deployed on the aircraft carriers of the American Sixth Fleet. These have now been supplemented by submarines armed with Poseidon missiles carrying from 500 to 800 warheads.

It is entirely obvious that deployment of new American medium-range missiles, were it to be achieved, would dramatically worsen the situation on the European continent. An increase in destructive potential would inevitably affect the political climate and the vital interests of the continent's nations. It stands to reason that the Soviet Union would not permit the USA and the NATO bloc to disturb the military-strategic balance in their favor. The USSR and the Warsaw Pact countries have warned in all seriousness that were the Pentagon to dare deploy new American missiles in West Europe, the Soviet Union and its allies would take effective retaliatory steps to restore the disturbed balance.

Our country is decisively against confrontation, and this is precisely why the USSR and its allies suggest negotiation.

In recent Moscow meetings between the leaders of the USSR and the FRG the Soviet side proposed a new initiative having the purpose of relaxing the critical situation created by NATO's plan to locate American missiles in Europe. In order to avert this turn of events, dangerous to peace, the USSR proposed entering into bilateral talks with the USA on the question of medium-range nuclear missiles, in organic unity with the issue of forward-based American nuclear resources. Such negotiations could be started before ratification of the SALT II Treaty; however, any agreements reached in these negotiations could be implemented only after the SALT II Treaty is ratified and goes into effect.

FRG Chancellor H. Schmidt characterized the Soviet proposals as "new and constructive". "They reinforce my opinion," he said, "that negotiations concerning limitation of medium-range missiles are not only necessary but also possible." Even those organs of the Western press that relate with invariable prejudice to Soviet initiatives, were forced to recognize the merits of the USSR's proposals this time. "These proposals," states an editorial in the American newspaper THE PHILADELPHIA INQUIRER, "offer a way out of the dead end. They demonstrate the USSR's obvious readiness to begin talks on this problem. Such talks are necessary, since solving the problem of preventing nuclear war depends on them to a considerable degree."

As far as the official reaction of J. Carter's administration is concerned, for the moment it is extremely indefinite and ambiguous. While they do not reject the Soviet initiative, American representatives make it understood that negotiations on medium-range weapons could probably begin only after the presidential elections in the USA, and that the government of the United States would want to exclude the issue of American forward-based resources from the negotiations.

At the same time Washington demands some sort of additional "proofs" of the peaceful intentions of our country. But are such proofs really necessary? In the last 10 years the Soviet Union has not increased the number of nuclear weapon carriers within its European territory. Naturally, as with our opponents, we have also modernized our missiles. But during this time the number of medium-range missile launching pads and the power of the nuclear warheads of these missiles managed to even decrease somewhat.

There is one more important consideration--in contrast to the USA, the USSR does not deploy such missiles on the territory of other states.

The USSR is not trying to achieve military superiority or to create a first-strike potential. We are prepared for sincere and just negotiations based on strict compliance with the principle of equality and identical security. But no one should doubt the fact that the USSR and the Warsaw Pact countries have everything they would need to foil the adventurous hopes harbored by Washington and NATO for achieving military superiority.

Further deepening of cooperation among socialist countries in politics, economics, defense, and other areas and the constructive activity of their joint organizations--the Warsaw Pact and CEMA--are multiplying our strength and dependably serving the cause of peace and progress.

The May conference of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Pact members, held in Warsaw, once again emphasized, with full force, the significance of fraternal solidarity of socialist countries to maintenance of universal peace and assurance of international security, and it once again demonstrated the noble role of socialism in the causes of peace, and its consistent internationalism and unwavering love of peace. The Declaration adopted at the conference suggests a concrete and constructive program of measures to eliminate centers of tension and trends in international development that offer a danger to nations.

One of the important factors of present international development is the unprecedented activity of the popular masses, manifested as fierce intolerance of tyranny and aggression, and an unbending insistence upon peace. This is the result of historical experience, accumulated by mankind, it is the result of the influence of the peace-loving policies of socialist countries. Memories of the bitter lessons of the first and second world wars and an understanding of the terrible consequences of using nuclear weapons commandingly call the people to active antimilitary efforts.

Growth in cooperation among communist and workers' parties in the international arena and development of contacts and joint actions with socialist, social-democratic, and peasant parties and organizations, and all democratic forces in the interests of a sound peace in Europe and in the entire world is an object of constant concern of the CPSU and the fraternal parties.

The Warsaw Declaration devotes primary attention to preparations for a conference on military detente and disarmament in Europe. In particular, practical decisions could be made at the forthcoming Madrid meeting of the Helsinki Conference participants on the tasks and agenda of this conference, and on the time, place, and order of its business.

Countries of the socialist fraternity are also insisting upon the fastest possible successful conclusion of negotiations on complete and universal prohibition of nuclear weapon tests, on prohibition of radiological weapons, on prohibition of chemical weapons and destruction of their reserves, on the impermissibility of using nuclear weapons against non-nuclear states not possessing such weapons on their territory, and on deployment of nuclear weapons on the territories of states not having such weapons at the present time.

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* *

Unfortunately the military-strategic policy of the USA and NATO runs counter to the objective needs for improving the international climate. Rather than accepting the Warsaw Pact's proposal and sitting down to examine, for example within the UN, the issue of limiting and reducing military presence and military activities in the Atlantic, Indian, and Pacific oceans, the Mediterranean⁹ Sea, and the Persian Gulf, the United States is increasing its military potential in these regions at a forced pace, and it is creating new military bases and outposts to support operations by interventionist "rapid deployment forces".

The entire notorious "process of peace", which supposedly began as a result of the separate Egypt-Israeli Camp David Agreement, for practical purposes boiled down to the Pentagon's acquisition of military bases in Oman, Somali, and in Egypt itself, to accelerated armament of Israeli expansionists and the Sadat regime, which is groveling before imperialism and Zionism, and to transfer of an armada of 35 American warships to the Persian Gulf. The American military command now plans to create a permanent Fifth Fleet for operations in the Persian Gulf, the Arabian Sea, and the Indian Ocean. It is clear to any sane individual that these are preparations having nothing in common with achieving peace in the Near East.

Establishment of a sound peace in the Near East would be possible only via a universal political settlement arrived at with the direct participation of all interested sides, including the Arab Palestine nation, as represented by the Palestine Liberation Organization, on the basis of respect for the legal interests of all states and peoples in the region. A political settlement in the Near East would require that no state would interfere in the internal affairs of the countries and peoples of the region, or encroach upon their natural resources.

But what sort of policy is the United States pursuing here? In a message to Congress on 23 January of this year, President J. Carter made an open claim of some sort of "right" of American imperialism to dictate its will and to impose regimes advantageous to the USA in the Near East, and equally so in any other region of Asia, Africa, and Latin America which Washington would declare to be a sphere of its "vitally important interests". Moreover, under the guise of "defense" and assurance of unhindered deliveries of Near East oil to the West, the President threatened the use of "all necessary resources, including military force" to defend these "vitally important interests".

Creation of a "rapid deployment" interventionist corps, erection of a major American air force and naval base on the island of Diego Garcia in the Indian Ocean, transfer of floating bases together with heavy military equipment and ammunition to the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean, and construction of military transport air-

craft specially intended to ferry assault troops to remote regions--all of this attests to Washington's attempts at resurrecting "gunboat diplomacy" aimed against the developing countries.

According to the well informed newspaper THE NEW YORK TIMES, back in mid-1977 Presidential Assistant for National Security Z. Brzezinski "stated his support for the creation of rapid deployment forces that could be used in the event of crises in Third World countries.... The idea of creating these forces was generally approved by Carter in August 1977. At the end of February 1979 Brzezinski persuaded the President to agree to a more-active role in the Near East, to include the sale of weapons, maintaining a naval presence in the Indian Ocean, and creating military bases."

The American military machine allocated, for the "rapid deployment forces", 110,000 soldiers stationed in the USA, including the 82nd Airborne Division; moreover the American Marine Corps is providing another 40,000-45,000 marine infantry to the command of these forces. Nine billion dollars were allocated for the purchase of military equipment for the American Rapid Deployment Forces in accordance with a five year plan announced at the end of 1979.

The course toward creating interventionist "rapid deployment forces" is an obvious departure from the "Nixon Doctrine" declared in the early 1970's, which foresaw protection of the USA's imperialist interests in various regions of the world by foreign hands. In the Near East, for example, which provides two-thirds of the world's total exported oil, Iran was given the role of American policeman.

Deposing Mosaddeq's regime in 1953 and returning Shah Mohammed Reza Pahlavi to the throne, in the course of 25 years the CIA and the Pentagon generously supplied the most up-to-date weapons and instructors to the Iranian army. The Shah became the USA's first client in the purchases of American military equipment with income from petroleum sales, which paid the bills of American weapons manufacturers rather than being used for the needs of the economy. It would be sufficient to point out that since 1973 the Shah placed military orders with the United States totaling \$20 billion.

The French bourgeois newspaper LE MONDE recalls to us that one of the main bulwarks of the Shah's power--the Savak secret police--"was created in 1957 and organized and financed with the assistance of the CIA, as well as with the cooperation of Israeli and English secret services, which sent their advisers there."

Washington sent more and more consignments of military materials necessary for repression to the Shah's army: tear gas, billy clubs, flamethrowers, hand grenades, and other weapons. Helicopters that shot down demonstrators and tanks that crushed them also bore the "Made in USA" label. Nevertheless President Carter asserts that the United States "has no grounds for reproaching itself" for what went on in Iran with the support and incitation of American advisers.

After the Shah's regime fell, Washington began seeking a replacement for him in the reactionary regimes of Sadat and Begin. Apparently, however, not being sure that Sadat might not suffer the same fate as the Shah, the Pentagon now relies more upon American infantry and assault troops in this region.

American strategists gave the Shah's Iran the role of an anti-Soviet military springboard, and they actively utilized electronic reconnaissance and listening bases created by them in the country's north to spy on the USSR. After the fall of its royal puppet, Washington turned its eyes on Afghanistan, hoping to transform it into a springboard for subversive activities against the USSR.

There never would have been a so-called "Afghan crisis", had American imperialists and Beijing hegemonists not interfered in the internal affairs of the DRA. On 27 December 1979, when Babrak Karmal was unanimously elected Chairman of the Revolutionary Council and Prime Minister of the DRA, the country was at the brink of a counterrevolutionary turning point.

As Karmal related in an interview with the journal HORIZON, just a month after the April revolution Amin, who was serving as the minister of foreign affairs, took part in a special session of the UN General Assembly in New York, where he met with representatives of the American administration. Upon his return, Amin forced a counterrevolutionary conspiracy. The proposal was to subdivide Afghanistan. The eastern and southern territories of the country were to be given to Pakistan, while the northern regions were to be ceded to China. A terrorist regime headed by Amin, answering directly or indirectly to the CIA, was to be created in Kabul itself.

As we can see, Afghanistan was threatened from within by Amin's counterrevolution, which was to blame for the annihilation of thousands of patriots, and it was threatened from without by aggressive plans that placed the national independence, territorial integrity, and sovereignty of Afghanistan in danger. Under these conditions the national leadership of the DRA sought military aid from the USSR on the basis of the Treaty of Friendship.

As Comrade L. I. Brezhnev emphasized in his report to the June Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, "There is not a grain of self-interest in the Soviet action to aid Afghanistan. We had no choice other than to send troops. Events have confirmed that this was the sole correct decision." As we know, the CPSU Central Committee Plenum completely approved the steps taken to render full aid to Afghanistan in the matter of repelling armed attacks and interference from without, pursuing the goal of suffocating the Afghan revolution and creating a pro-imperialist springboard of military aggression on the southern borders of the USSR. The plenum voted in favor of political settlement of the situation in Afghanistan. This would mean, as the government of the DRA declared, complete cessation of aggression against this country, and dependable guarantees against subversive activity initiated from outside its borders.

It is precisely in the context of such a settlement that the issue of withdrawing Soviet troops from the DRA could be resolved. But judging from everything, political settlement is clearly not what Washington, London, and Beijing want. The USA is doing everything it can to hinder direct negotiations between Afghanistan and Iran and between Afghanistan and Pakistan, during which the most complex issues could be practically solved. The CIA, the English "Intelligence Service", and the Beijing hegemonists are enlarging their deliveries of weapons to bandit formations, and they are activating, on Pakistani territory, the training of terrorists and assassins who are being ferried into Afghan territory by the thousands.

The imperialists and their henchmen obviously forget that there is no return to the old Afghanistan, and that there can never be one. The internal structure of Afghanistan is the business of the Afghan people themselves, and no one should transgress upon this sovereign right.

As far as the USSR is concerned, by reducing the Soviet military contingent in the DRA it has once again confirmed its desire for a political settlement, rather than for military resolution of the problems that have evolved around Afghanistan. False accusations by highly placed American officials, who suggest that the USSR is trying to break through to the warm seas and place itself within reaching distance of Near East oil, are meeting a repulse even from moderate and conservative Arab politicians.

Kuwait Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs Al-Jabir Al-Sabah recently noted that American assertions that the Soviet Union brought its troops into Afghanistan in order to lay a path to petroleum deposits in the Persian Gulf region are devoid of any sort of ground. It is generally known, the minister recalled, that the USSR not only extracts but also exports oil. Under the cover of a fabricated "Soviet danger", the USA is itself exerting pressure upon the Arabs in an attempt to keep them from raising the prices on oil and to acquire new military bases in this region for the United States. It is precisely the presence of an armada of American warships outfitted with nuclear missiles that creates a threat to the security of both states in this region and the USSR.

Wherever political tension or a situation of conflict exists, be it in the Near or Middle East, Southeast Asia, or the south of Africa, or be it any other region of the world, it is the direct duty of all states to do nothing that would promote deterioration of the situation, and instead to do everything to help ease the tension and make a contribution to normalizing the situation. It is precisely this line, the May Declaration of the Warsaw Pact states emphasizes, that the socialist countries are strictly following.

* * *

The Soviet leadership has warned the U.S. administration many times that our country will not allow it to threaten the interests of the national security of the USSR and the socialist fraternity. We have suggested, and continue to suggest to the United States, that it base its relations on the principles of peaceful coexistence, which were the foundation for the summit document "Fundamental Principles of Mutual Relationships Between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America" signed in 1972. After all, the fate of detente and the fate of universal peace depend in many ways on the mutual relations that evolve between the two big powers, in whose hands the overwhelming part of the world's nuclear arsenal is concentrated.

Hostility between the USA and the USSR is not only unnatural, but it is also dangerous. And it is not our fault that Soviet-American relations recently underwent dramatic deterioration. The responsibility for this lies with the present leadership of the USA, which is pursuing a line of subverting detente and aggravating the international situation, and which is trying to dictate its will in relation to socialist states and other peace-loving countries. It is the USA, and not the USSR, that has assumed a course toward intensification of the arms race, in

the vain hope of disturbing the military balance that has evolved in the world. It is the USA, and not the USSR, that has assumed the course of economic "sanctions" and the breaking of economic, scientific-technical, cultural, and sports ties, rejecting all of the obligations it has assumed, violating dozens of signed international agreements, and ascribing to itself the Kulak right to "punish" other nations and states, to teach them how they should live. Aggressive circles in the USA have assumed the road of closer ties with the Chinese leadership on an anti-Soviet basis hostile to peace, even though it would seem that Washington should reckon with the fact that partnership with Beijing hegemonism is a danger to all mankind, including to the American and Chinese peoples.

These sharp changes in U.S. policy were not a surprise. Back in the 1970's when improvements were achieved in the international situation and the United States, reckoning with the growth of the economic and defensive power of the socialist countries, was forced to switch from confrontation to negotiation, American ruling circles assumed a number of self-interested goals having no relationship to real detente. Washington intended to capitalize upon detente as a means of indulging decayed pro-imperialist antipopular regimes in developing countries; it believed that a situation of peaceful coexistence between two socioeconomic systems could be exploited as a means for subverting the unity of the socialist fraternity, for intensifying ideological penetration into the countries of socialism, and for driving a wedge between socialist and developing states, and between the socialist fraternity and the national liberation movements--our natural allies.

But the final score was not in favor of imperialism. It was precisely in the atmosphere of detente that the number of countries in Asia, Africa, and Latin America that rejected dependence upon imperialism and selected a socialist orientation grew. The desire to alter the course of historic development at all costs is what lies at the basis of present attempts by imperialism, mainly American imperialism, to resurrect the "position of strength" policy and return, to the United States, its irretrievably lost military-strategic superiority.

However, the situation of the United States today is such that new foreign political adventures are threatening serious shocks within the country itself. In recent years capitalism--American capitalism primarily--has found itself in a new crisis. The greatest decline in production in more than 40 years, followed by a lengthy recession, the continuing growth of unemployment which has affected many millions of laborers, the currency crisis, unrestrainable inflation, disastrous pollution of the environment, corruption, and political scandals are all raising public protest and causing ever-increasing disenchantment with the capitalist order and with Washington's policy.

In other words the future American administration--be it Democratic or Republican--will have to do some house-cleaning after the November elections.

In the Western world where interimperialist conflicts are growing among three centers--the USA, the European "Common Market", and Japan--the economic weight and influence of the United States are steadily declining. As was noted in the journal U.S. NEWS AND WORLD REPORT in a commentary on the economic conference in Venice attended by the heads of seven leading capitalist countries, "Decades of disorder in the United States and relative reduction of American military power have undermined the influence of Washington upon its allies.... It is believed that America will be forced to share its decision making authority with its partners, who were

monopolized by the former over a long period of time. And even this may be found to be insufficient to restore the unity of the alliance, in view of the growing divergence of interests between the USA and West Europe."

The vital national interests of West European countries are inseparable from the fate of Europe because in the event of confrontation, they will be the first sacrifices to the unwise policy of the USA. Moreover even the economic advantages enjoyed by these states from a policy of cooperation with socialist countries are highly tenuous. West Europe, especially France and the FRG, did not support the threatening attempts of the U.S. government and Congress to "punish" the USSR and impose an economic and trade boycott upon it. Everyone in Europe realized that such actions are the product of incorrect ideas about the economic and military potential of the Soviet Union.

The constructive experience of Franco-Soviet and Soviet-West German summit meetings attests to the fact that the conditions are being created for holding summit meetings attended by the leaders of states in all regions of the world. The Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Pact states emphasized in its May Declaration that the attention of participants of such a meeting must be focused on a task disturbing both the European nations and all mankind--the task of eliminating the sources of international tension, and of preventing war. Special attention should be turned in this case to the issues of European security, of preserving the peace in Europe.

As is emphasized in the Decision of the June Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, détente is the natural result of the balance of forces that evolved in recent decades in the world arena. The military-strategic balance that has been achieved between the world of socialism and the world of capitalism is of fundamental, historical significance. It is a factor hindering the aggressive desires of imperialism, and it reflects the fundamental interests of all peoples. Hopes of disturbing this balance are fated to failure.

Our country is approaching the 24th CPSU Congress at the peak of its power. In this important period of history, the Soviet people express their unanimous support for the domestic and foreign policy of the CPSU, and an unshakable resolve to strengthen the motherland's economic and defensive power with shock labor.

ИЗДАТЕЛЬСТВО "ПРАВДА", "Политическое самонаблюдение", 1980

INTERNATIONAL

FACTORS INFLUENCING ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES

Moscow NARODY AZII I AFRIKI in Russian No 4, 1980 signed to press 9 Jul 80
pp 46-59

[Article by Doctor of Economic Sciences M. Ya. Volkov, chief research worker at the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of World Economics and International Relations, specialist in problems of developing countries: "The Unevenness of the Economic Development of the Developing Countries of Asia and Africa and Their Differentiation"]

[Excerpts] The developing countries of Asia and Africa differ markedly from one another with respect to many basic indicators--natural and demographic, social and economic, political, etc. The peoples have been brought to independence by diverse social and political forces and the problem of choosing the path of development has been resolved in different ways. Nevertheless, all these states are part of one large group of developing countries inasmuch as they are joined together by important common features.

First, the common character of their origin. They all became independent states in the course of the intensification of the general crisis of capitalism and in the course of national liberation revolutions. Their destinies are indissolubly linked with the rise of socialism, its transformation into a world system, and the growth of its role in world economics and politics. They all came into being in the same historically brief period encompassing approximately three decades.

Second, the technical-economic and social-economic backwardness respecting the countries of developed capitalism.

Third, the state of dependence in the system of the world capitalist economy. The dependent character of their development is typical, although not to the same degree, also of the liberated countries of the present day.

The problem of the common character of the developing countries has already been the subject of considerable elaboration in Marxist literature.

New problems are now arising--determination of the evolving trends, analysis of the factors which shape these trends, and evaluation of the potential

results. Is the common character of the developing countries gaining in intensity and do the trends in their development stand out as belonging to some more or less common type determined by both the world level of development of the productive forces and the principal direction of mankind's shift from a capitalist to a communist civilization? Or, following their liberation from colonial dependence, are the factors which are polarizing the developing world intensifying their effect; is the multivariation in their development resulting in an intensification of the age-old differences among the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, and are we justified in expecting in the future an erosion of the very concept of a developing world?

There are gradually taking shape the basic components of the problem of differentiation in the developing world; the most important problems are coming into focus, and we are mapping out the line of further study of this relatively new world socioeconomic and political process. However, in our literature we have still not devised a definition of differentiation of the developing countries and we have not determined the relationships of this category to the other categories which thus or otherwise pertain to differentiation, particularly to the unevenness of the development and to the typology of the developing countries. Moreover, at times the differentiation in essence comes to be identified with the unevenness of the development or else the problem of differentiation of the developing countries comes down actually to a question of their typology. This article undertakes an attempt to examine the unevenness of the economic development of the developing countries of Asia and Africa to the extent in which it is related to their differentiation. We also interpret differentiation of the developing countries as an intensification of the socioeconomic and political differences among them, differences which are manifested in acquisition by the individual countries of a varied position in the world capitalist economy and in their varied political orientation in the overall context of retention of the important qualitative features which determine the categorization of them in the group of developing countries.

In the countries of Asia and Africa the economic processes and political development, and consequently the unevenness, are affected to a far greater degree than in the other continents by such factors as traditions (retention of the castes; for example, to which the individual belongs and which throughout his life determines his place in society and in production); the continuous influence of religion (not one of the basic religions of the East has experienced bourgeois reform and they all oppose capitalist development--the history of Iran in recent years shows how important this factor can be); adherence to their own systems of values, which are often alien to the mores of western society; tribalism (in a number of areas nomadic tribes, for example, freely cross state boundaries and do not regard themselves as citizens of any particular country; in some countries of Asia and Africa tribalism is used by the reactionary forces for the organization of separatist movements), etc.

The unevenness of development is determined by factors such as the internal life of each country and the changing situation in the external world of the developing countries.

Among the many indicators describing the unevenness of development of the various countries the one that may be considered the most important is the rate of growth of gross internal product (VVP).

The data cited in Table 1 (not shown) gives evidence of the extreme unevenness of the economic growth in the various developing countries of Asia and Africa. In 26 years the average yearly rate of growth was 17.05 percent in Qatar and only 2.3 percent in Nepal and Bhutan. A still greater unevenness has been observed in the recent period, indicating an intensification of the disparities. Thus, in the 1970-1976 period the highest rates of growth (more than 10 percent) were noted in Iran, Kuwait, and Qatar whereas in Uganda there was no increase in the VVP at all.

How is this unevenness in the growth of the VVP and its recent buildup related to the process of differentiation of the developing countries, a differentiation which consists chiefly of the disparity between them in respect to the social and economic direction of the development and their political orientation?

1. The highest rates of growth of the VVP are typical of a small number of developing countries and territories where a particularly significant role is played by foreign capital--South Korea from 1950 to 1976 and 1970-1976, Thailand, the Philippines, the city states of Singapore and the English colony of Hong Kong, and the small oil kingdoms of Kuwait and Qatar. The economic growth in those Asian countries where there has been a rapid increase in industrial production reflects the development of the national economy to only a slight degree.
2. Growth rates exceeding the average indicator for all of the developing world have been recorded in some periods by such oil-producing countries as Nigeria, Algeria, Iraq and Indonesia. In these areas, however, approximately the same statistical indicators conceal social and economic processes which are diverse and even contradictory with respect to their orientation.
3. The largest developing country--India, whose population exceeds all of Africa, is characterized by a more or less constant and low rate of growth of the VVP; for all of the period under review this figure was considerably below the average level of the developing world as a whole.
4. The countries of socialist orientation which do not possess large oil deposits have not shown high rates of growth of the VVP (Burma, Tanzania). Recently come to socialist orientation are Afghanistan and Ethiopia, which not only retained the most archaic feudal-monarchist social and political regime throughout the post-1950 period but also showed the lowest rates of growth of the VVP. In these countries there could be observed a direct

relationship between the low rates of growth of the VVP and a sharp exacerbation of the social conflicts.

5. Of the other large developing countries low rates of growth of the VVP have been observed in Bangladesh, Pakistan and Uganda, which belong to the group of less developed states.

6. The most strikingly manifested acceleration of the rates of growth has been shown by Iran. There this acceleration, which took place on a capitalist basis through relocation of foreign capital among other measures, generated a profound discrepancy between the new sectors of the economy and the traditional society, a discrepancy which played a not unimportant role in the development of the anti-Shah and anti-imperialist revolution. This revolution, unlike the revolutions in the countries with low rates of growth (Afghanistan and Ethiopia) has confronted the people with the task of resolving complex problems of independent large-scale construction.

The characteristics which we have examined and which are confirmed by the data cited in Table 1 [not shown] indicate first that there is a definite relationship between the unevenness of development manifested in the diversity of rates of growth of the VVP and the process of differentiation of the developing countries with respect to the social and economic direction of their development and political orientation and second, that this relationship is by no means well-defined, is far from direct and simple, and involves many other factors. Among these factors are population strength, the extent to which the country is endowed with natural resources, the historical characteristics of the preceding development, and the tasks which its leaders bring before the country.

High rates of growth can be achieved by increasing the scope of operation through a buildup of the consumption fund by limitation of the masses' consumption. In this instance high rates of growth of the VVP are not at all indicative of a solution of the national problems of development or the progressiveness of the ruling regime in the country or its stability or the consolidation of the country's positions in the world capitalist economy. The closer the link between the economics of the developing country and the world capitalist market the more difficult it is to utilize the results of accelerated economic growth for the solution of its national problems and the greater the extent of increase of exploitation of this country by neo-colonial methods.

This can be an important factor in exacerbation of the conflicts in the countries whose rates of VVP growth are increasing in consequence of a stepping up of production of goods, especially raw materials, for export to a foreign market. Thus, increased production in the enterprises belonging to foreign capital means augmentation of the monetary amounts in the converted currency which is to be taken out of the developing country in the form of profits accruing to the western investors, resulting in a decline in the country's payment balance and a disruption of its national economics.

The monopolies which are dominant in the world market, by means of the price system, create for the developing countries the kind of conditions wherein increased production of raw materials as well as increased production of agricultural output and export of these, in various periods may be accompanied not by a rise but by a decline in the income of these countries.

The countries which have chosen the path of socialist orientation, especially those which are counted among the less developed countries, must at the same time resolve the problem of acceleration of economic development and accomplish the task of restructuring the society and stepping up the living standard of the working masses in the population (combatting poverty, etc.). This involves considerable assets from the accumulation fund, the size of which determines the rates of growth of the VVP. The accumulation fund is also similarly affected by the need to organize defense of the achievements of the revolution against internal reaction and foreign aggressive imperialist forces. Hence, in the countries of socialist orientation progressive economic and social development takes place (if there are lacking especially favorable conditions in the form of availability of large amounts of petroleum export resources or other important mineral products) despite relatively low rates of growth of the VVP.

Only by bearing in mind that stepped-up rates of growth should not be considered an end in itself for development and that the same rates may conceal economic processes which are diverse and at times contradictory in the social and economic character--only then can we trace the complex relationship between the unevenness of development as manifested in various rates of the VVP and the differentiation of the developing countries.

Since the developing countries are usually characterized by high rates of population growth, it is necessary to reinforce the picture of unevenness of the rates of growth of the VVP with data concerning the rates of increase of the VVP in per capita terms.

In addition to some countries and territories which show a high rate of growth (Qatar, Singapore, Hong Kong, South Korea and Kuwait), the principal Asian and African countries are characterized by extremely low indicators (India only 1.3 percent throughout the period and only 0.3 percent in the 1970-1976 period), often for a very lengthy period there is no increase of the VVP at all and some countries in some periods even show a decline in the VVP production per capita (Ghana from 1960 to 1970, Morocco from 1950 to 1960).

The amounts of VVP production per capita are used as one of the criteria in the present-day schemes of classification and typology of the developing countries. Hence the differences in the rates of growth of the VVP are related to the problem of differentiation although here too there is retained the importance of everything that was noted in examining the indicators of average yearly growth of the VVP. Unevenness as to the rates of growth for the countries and periods is an important but not the only or even the chief

manifestation of the action of the law of irregularity of development under capitalism. Apart from the quantitative indicators, major significance attaches to the qualitative indicators, particularly the scientific-technical level of production, which acquire special importance in the era of scientific-technical revolution; also, labor productivity and its differences for the economic sectors and the social and economic structures, etc. The segregation of capitalism as a leading life style, the ratio of which differs in the various countries of Asia and Africa, the retention of other structures, the number, character and scope of which also differ in the various countries--all this has considerable importance for the process of differentiation of the developing countries. The proportion of capitalist structures, the character of their interrelationships with the state and the state sector, the extent of diffusion of the traditional sectors, the retention of the precapitalist forms of exploitation--all this to a considerable degree determines the country's position in the differentiated developing world.

Although it is associated with the unevenness of economic and political development under capitalism, differentiation involves a broader area of social relationships than unevenness of development and has an independent significance as a special objective process in the contemporary evolution of the developing world.

Serving as the basic indicator of the irregularity of development are the differences in the rates of growth of production and the changes in their proportion of the world capitalist economy, the differences in the alignment of their economic and military-strategic potential, the varying extent of their participation in the scientific-technical revolution, etc. Distinct from this main content of the differentiation of the developing countries is, as we have already noted, the difference in the social and political orientation, in the social and economic system, in the predominant ideological objectives, and in the foreign policy actions.

For a number of reasons some of the developing countries who in the course of differentiation occupy the most progressive anti-imperialist positions, especially those who have opted for the socialist orientation, are characterized by lower rates of economic growth than some countries which in this process are found to be in contrary positions--allies of the imperialist powers. These reasons include, first of all, age-old differences. The developing countries which possess a greater production potential and in which the level of development of capitalism was already relatively high at the time of their liberation from colonial dependence often under the influence of world capital embark on the path of capitalist development while some of the more backward countries where the bourgeoisie is poorly and insufficiently organized have, as a result of a sharper internal struggle, opted for the socialist orientation as a means of resolving their difficult national problems.

1. the countries with progressive regimes, as we have already noted, give more attention to the first-priority solution of social problems:

stepping up the living standard of the population, eliminating illiteracy, establishing a national health system, expanding the housing construction, etc. These countries are also obliged to allocate more resources to the task of defending themselves against hostile aggressive forces and this inevitably reduces the accumulation fund, the size of which to a considerable degree determines the rates of economic growth.

Third, there is less foreign capital coming into the countries with progressive regimes, which makes it possible to achieve higher rates of growth--though with the adverse consequences which we discussed above in respect to the situation in South Korea, Singapore and Hong Kong. The progressive regimes find themselves in a discriminatory position in the world capitalist economy and are at times subjected to an open or disguised blockade; in their power setup the enemies of the progressive course often pursue a policy of economic sabotage, political subversion and antigovernment intrigues. All this also adversely affects their rates of growth. In general, the breakup of an antiquated social system and replacement of it with a new, more progressive one may at first entail a temporary decline of production which, under the conditions of the liberated countries of Asia and particularly Africa, sometimes takes place as a partial breakdown of the economies which belonged to the former colonizers.

At the same time, the socialist orientation opens up to the developing countries new possibilities for resolving their national problems and gives them a more progressive direction of economic development, one compatible with the interests of these countries and one with results that may be manifested differently from a quantitative increase of the VVP without regard to its structure and the characteristics of its distribution and consumption (use). This ultimately generates a new development potential which will undoubtedly play an important role in the economic construction of the future.

Since the developing countries are retaining on a large scale the precapitalist forms of small-scale production, the unevenness of development takes place in two directions which possess their own characteristic features: first, in the country's national economy as a whole there is a deepening of the chasm between the rapidly growing capitalist structures and the stagnant precapitalist structures; second, ever greater importance attaches to the unevenness of development of the capitalist forms themselves. As a result, relatively low rates of per capita production growth are also shown by some countries where intensive development of capitalism is taking place, as, for example, India.

On the strength of the operation of the law of uneven economic and political development among the Asiatic and African countries traveling the capitalist path, they are standing out as individual highly developed centers which lay claim to the role of economic centers of their regions and are distinct "subimperialist" powers who view their neighboring developing countries as their province. Some of the Asiatic states attempt to strengthen their economic influence in the region through military intervention in the

affairs of other developing countries and also, as a rule, serving as a base for American and West European imperialism.

The special feature of the operation of the law of unevenness of capitalist development against the background of the developing countries is that, unlike the imperialist powers, where the advance of some and the decline of others is determined in the postwar period primarily by internal processes, in the countries of Asia and Africa it is influenced to a great extent by external factors. The countries which opted for the socialist orientation did so without any interference from outside sources. At the same time, despite all its unique characteristics, differentiation in the destiny of each of the countries of Asia and Africa comes down in the final analysis to an ever deeper schism between the countries following the capitalist path and the states which have opted for the noncapitalist path; between those who, to a greater or lesser degree, have become an ally of the imperialist powers in the political arena and an object of exploitation in the economic sphere and those who choose socialist orientation, which from the political standpoint implies the pursuit of a consistent anti-imperialist policy, the support of progressive movements, strengthening of the ties with socialist concord, and in the realm of economic construction the achievement of economic independence from imperialism and the building of a highly developed economy capable of solving social problems and guaranteeing labor without exploitation.

The recent period has seen the rise of an exceptionally important new problem which has been addressed by the Czech economist J. Foltyn--the problem of the effect of the differentiation of the developing countries on their capacity for unity and coordination in their foreign economic actions and in their struggle for a new international economic order.²

Such unity, which was in effect until recently, was indeed impressive: the common foreign economic position had the concerted support of even those Asian and African countries where military conflicts had taken place at some point.

However, the process of irregularity of development is making an increasingly evident impact on the intensification of the differences in the various countries' interest in particular elements of the new international economic order. The stratification embraces not only the large groups of states: for example, the oil-exporting countries which in June 1980 raised the price of oil from 28 to 32 dollars a barrel and decided to reduce the oil extraction from 28 to 26.5 million barrels a day, influenced by interests different from those which are characteristic of the oil-importing countries which comprise the majority in Asia and Africa. This stratification has even made its way inside these groups of countries: a definite and ever increasing differentiation is also taking place, for example, in the comparatively compact group of countries in OPEC.

Segregating the group of Asiatic countries where industrial production is growing at particularly rapid rates intensifies the difference in the approaches of the developing countries to the parts of the program for a new international economic order which define the terms and objectives of industrialization and stipulate the change in the industrial goods system. It therefore becomes a more complicated task to devise a strategy of development which will in equal measure take into account the ever more diverse interests of all the developing countries, the differences among which become increasingly greater as a result of the unevenness of development. At the same time also, the implementation of the various tenets of the new international economic order has an unequal impact on the posture of the various developing countries and this in turn intensifies the unevenness of their development.

The various countries obtain varied and real benefits from the concessions which the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America can and do obtain from the western powers. As a rule, these benefits accrue to those among them who are already showing the highest growth rates and, to a lesser degree, to those who are experiencing the greatest economic difficulties.

Consequently, there is need for a more differentiated approach to the developing strategy itself. The program of the new international economic order includes special provisions for increasing economic aid with special benefits for the least developed countries. However, it is also considered that this aid will be used more for the basic living requirements of the population of the aforementioned countries than for the creation of conditions for acceleration of their independent economic growth; this could perhaps have put an end to the very phenomenon of lowest level of development.

In the form in which the program of the new world economic order is being implemented, although on an extremely limited scale, the chief benefits derived from it accrue to those Asian and African countries who have already achieved the best adaptation to the conditions of the world capitalist economy and have more organically interlinked with it. The development of capitalism in these countries obtains additional stimuli and this means that the process of social and economic differentiation of the developing countries is intensified to an ever greater extent.

FOOTNOTES

1. See, for example, the articles by V. L. Sheynis in the journals *MIROVAYA EKONOMIKA i MEZHDUNARODNYYE OTNOSHENIYA*, 1978, No 8 and *AZII i AFRIKA SEGODNYA*, 1980, No 1 and 2.
2. J. Poltyn. "Soudržnost a Polarizace Rozvojových Zemí ve Svetové Ekonomice." Praha, 1979.

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INTERNATIONAL

DEVELOPMENT OF SAUDI ARABIA ANALYZED

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian Nos 8, 9, 1980

[Article by Candidate of Historical Sciences A. Vasil'yev: "Saudi Arabia Between Archaism and Contemporaneity"]

[No 8, Aug 80 signed to press 31 Jul 80 pp 19-21]

[Text] The development of the production and, to a certain extent, refining of oil in Saudi Arabia since the war has had a profound and manifold, albeit contradictory influence on its economy, society and policy and led to considerable socioeconomic changes.

A giant modern enterprise with advanced technology and labor organization--Aramco --transferred from the most developed power of the capitalist world to a country with a medieval or premedieval economy where feudal-tribal relationships predominated. Creating it on the basis of the world's biggest oil deposits, the American corporations' mission was to pump valuable raw material from the Saudi interior and obtain the maximum profit.

But the very existence of this enterprise has prompted irreversible changes. The nucleus of a modern industrial proletariat has evolved in Saudi Arabia which with its economic and political demands has shown that rudiments of class self-awareness are beginning to be manifested therein. Having founded a modern capitalist sector in Saudi Arabia, Aramco remained for some time a foreign body in the country's precapitalist socioeconomic organism. But commerce, secondary sectors of the economy and individual national capitalist enterprises have begun to develop gradually at an ever more rapid pace around it and under its influence.

The increase in oil production and, since the start of the 1970's, the sharp upsurge in oil prices have increased the direct proceeds for the Saudi Government many times over. Even under conditions where a considerable proportion of these resources has been spent on consumption and "eaten up" by the ruling clan, it has stimulated the development of commodity-money relations, the breakup of the former customs and the appearance of capitalist relations. This process has accelerated even more in the period of expansion of the national consumption fund, when the feudal state has been forced to assume the burden of the creation of a state-capitalist sector.

The country has achieved some success in the development of the economy, has created a secular education system with an extensive network of schools of all levels, including colleges, virtually from scratch and laid the foundations of a modern health service. But these results are more than modest when we consider the extent of the financial resources ending up in the hands of the ruling class. This year they will amount, possibly, to \$90 billion. The government's socioeconomic projects have been prompted not so much by an aspiration to progress as by propaganda and political motives: attempts to persuade its own population that the oil revenue is being spent not only on the ruling dynasty and its retinue and is intended not only for the military-political machinery but is also being spent for the benefit of the entire people.

Objective requirements of the development of Saudi society--the creation of a diversified national economy on the basis of modern technology, the transition of the nomads to a settled existence, the emancipation of women and the training and productive use of national personnel--are running up against the archaic sociopolitical setup. This is a profound and painful conflict in itself. But it is being further intensified by the fact that the "archaism" of the Saudi sociopolitical system is young; it is no more than two generations old. The feudal centralized state which took shape only in the 1920's-1930's not only corresponded to the then level of Arabian society but was also a step forward for it compared with feudal-tribal fragmentation, internecine strife and separatism. However, both Saudi society and the forms of political organization which were new for it lagged many hundreds of years behind the present era. But modern capitalism with its advanced enterprises, means of communication, commodity-money relations and military technology and organization literally tore into the Arabian feudal-tribal reservation.

The Saud Clan in the System of Power

The absolute monarchical power of the Near East type which had taken shape in Saudi Arabia by the start of the 1930's has been preserved up to the present. But it has undergone considerable changes in the past two three decades. The Saud clan with its branches, which was relatively populous in the period when the Arabian estates gathered around Riyadh, grew, taking advantage of polygamy, to such an extent that it became the "ruling tribe," as it were, whose men alone numbered from 2,000 to 5,000. It is precisely the Saudis who dispose of the country's principal resources and its oil revenue and it is precisely they whom the armed forces and the security authorities and the entire administrative machinery of the country serve. However, the state mechanism itself has grown and become more complex, has been modernized somewhat and has acquired new functions.

The king, naturally, has remained the central figure in the system of power, being simultaneously the imam, military leader and supreme judge, although formally he is not considered a legislator since all laws have been set forth once and for all in the shari'ah. But the king has the right to issue decrees which regulate situations not covered by the shari'ah. Supreme executive and judicial power is also concentrated in the personality of the monarch. In practice the king transfers these functions to state establishments, institutions or individuals: the Council of Ministers or palace divan (chancellery); the deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers (if he is the king, to the head of the government); the Complaints Bureau attached to the Council of Ministers and Ministry of Justice; the Ministry of Defense; the staff of the armed forces and the commander of the

National Guard; and the Consultative Council, which formulates the recommendations which form the basis of the royal decrees.

The king should in principle make important decisions only after having canvassed the opinion and, consequently, having ascertained the interests of the ruling groups. Use is made of the traditional principle of consultations here. It is accepted that the king confer with influential members of the Saudi clan, the principal shaykhs of the tribal confederations or tribes, the princes of the principal provinces, the ulamas and, in recent years, with representatives of the new social groups connected with the modern sectors in the economy, the armed forces and the bureaucratic machinery. "His majesty the king is known for his passionate desire to respect the principles of the Muslim religion," an official communique on King Faisal's activity said. "One of these principles is that the government must seek advice. Thus his majesty never holds to an arbitrary opinion but acquaints himself with the opinion of the statesmen, ulamas and competent and distinguished people of the country. All this despite the fact that the opinion of his majesty is always the best opinion."

A reason for the present stability of the power of the Saudi clan lies in the preservation of its unity. The family members of the House of Saud recall that the exacerbation of the power struggle between Saud and Faisal in the period 1958-1964, the uprising of the "free princes" and the split of the royal family into hostile groupings were accompanied by a sharp weakening and crisis of the regime. The clan's unity is arrived at by the method of consent--the consensus (*ijma*) of its principal representatives. But a comparatively tight circle of persons numbering no more than 100 of the 2,000-5,000 clan members participates in the adoption of the most important decisions. The 68 signatures which appeared in 1964 on the royal family's decision to hand over the throne to Faisal and the consent of approximately 100 princes, who confirmed Khaled's right to the throne after Faisal's assassination in 1975, show the rough size of the group which determines policy and "selects" the main persons implementing it.

These 100 "kingmakers" are made up of authoritative leaders of the influential branches of the populous "tribe" of the House of Saud, among whom a hidden struggle preventing any one grouping from monopolizing power is under way.

The most important decisions on current affairs are adopted by a small group of persons surrounding the king. Under Faisal it included, in addition to his uncles, his stepbrothers Crown Prince Khaled, Prince Fahd, Abdullah, commander of the National Guard, and Sultan, minister of defense and aviation.

As is known, after Faisal's assassination on 25 March 1975, Khaled became king and prime minister, Fahd, first deputy prime minister and Crown Prince and National Guard Commander Abdullah, the sixth of the surviving sons of Abd al-Aziz, the founder of Saudi Arabia, second deputy prime minister.

It is recalled that King Faisal was killed by his nephew, Faisal ibn Musaud. His father was the 14th son of the founder of the kingdom. The young prince had just returned from the United States, where he had spent several years in school and college. His mother was a member of the al-Rashid clan, which had been routed by Abd al-Aziz, Khaled's elder brother and a religious fanatic who was killed by police when he was leading a demonstration against the opening of a television station, which he considered contrary to the rules of the Koran forbidding the portrayal of

man. Furthermore, the young prince was engaged to a daughter of King Saud, who had been ousted in 1964. There were suggestions that Ibn Musa'd had been guided by certain U.S. circles who were taking revenge on King Faisal for the 1973 oil embargo, and this was to have served as a warning to other members of the family. But whatever the case, the true motives were not made known, and the murderer was beheaded.

The coronation of Khaled signified neither a direct line of succession nor observance of the order of seniority in pure form. Following Faisal's assassination, the next in seniority was his brother Muhammad--the fourth son of the founder of the kingdom. The king's selection was evidently determined both by his personal attributes and the correlation of forces among the rival groups.

King Khaled was connected through his mother with a powerful branch of the House of Jiluwi--the semi-autonomous hereditary rulers of the eastern province of Hasa. Following the death of Abdullah of the House of Jiluwi, the cousin of the founder of the kingdom, the province came to be ruled by his son Saud and, subsequently, by another son, Abd al-Muhsin, who held this position through the end of the 1970's. Other important positions in Hasa were also occupied by persons from the House of Jiluwi.

Prince Fahd, who became crown prince in 1975, heads the so-called "Sudairi seven." Together with him it consists of the seven blood brothers who are the sons of Abd al-Aziz by his wife of the powerful feudal Najd clan of the House of Sudairi. Closely connected with one another, they formed an influential group. Sultan, the 12th son of Abd al-Aziz, was minister of defense and aviation in the 1960's-1970's, Turku, the 20th son, his deputy, Nayif, the 23d son, minister of the interior, Ahmed, the 28th son, deputy governor of Mecca, and Sattam, the 29th son, deputy governor of Riyadh. Abd al-Aziz married women of the House of Sudairi several times and, in addition to these seven, he had a further six sons from wives of this clan.

Prince Abdullah, who became the third figure in the kingdom, has no blood brothers, but his mother came from the powerful northern Shammar tribe. In addition to the position of second deputy prime minister, he continues to command the National Guard, whose job is to protect the regime against attempts at a military coup.

There is one further influential branch of the ruling clan--the House of Sunaini. Its representative--Abdullah of the House of Sunaini--ruled in Najd in 1841-1843. Members of this clan then traveled to Turkey. Ahmed of the House of Sunaini returned to Najd in the second decade of this century and became the confidant of King Abd al-Aziz. He died in 1921. In 1930 the future King Faisal called on his widow while passing through Istanbul, invited her to Saudi Arabia and married her daughter Iffat, who became his favorite and most influential wife. A certain number of Sunainis left Turkey to settle in Saudi Arabia and acquired influence and wealth. Toward the end of Faisal's reign Iffat was called "queen" as a sign of special respect for her since the wives of kings had never been considered queens in Saudi Arabia. She became actively involved in business.

Abd al-Aziz's grandsons represent a special group which came to acquire authority thanks to the education they received. These are the so-called "royal technocrats." Of them, the children of King Faisal, who have been coopted into the power system, have been specially singled out. His son, Saud al-Faisal, who was educated at Princeton, became foreign minister, another son, Khaled, governor of the southwest

province of Abir, Muhammad came to head the Department of Irrigation, Abdurrahman commanded an armored brigade, Sa'd is deputy director of the state Petromin company, Bandar is an air force officer, Turku is deputy director of the Interior Intelligence Department and Abdulliah is a poet and businessman. The sons of the ousted King Saud, however, numbering about 40, have been expelled from the circle of those who make the decisions in the clan and who wield any real power. Finding themselves in tertiary roles, they have formed a malcontents' group.

The "Araifia"—the "identified"—could acquire potential influence among the Saudi clan. They are the descendants of Saud ibn Faisal, who ruled in Riyadh in the 1870's at the time of the trouble among the sons of Prince Faisal, the grandfather of King Abd al-Aziz. The "Araifia" repeatedly demonstrated against Abd al-Aziz, the founder of the kingdom, but were subsequently forced to support him. The head of this branch—Muhammad Saud al-Kafir—believes himself to immediately follow the king in seniority.

The Saudi clan was welded into family relationships with the clan of the descendants of the founder of Wahabism—the House of ash-Shaykh—the feudal family of the House of Sudairi and the feudal-tribal aristocracy of the "bluest bloods" of Arabia. The women have played an important part in creating particularly close ties among their sons and brothers.

It is forbidden to publish anything in the Saudi press concerning the royal family other than official communiqués. A struggle may be under way inside the royal corporation, but it must not become the subject of public discussion.

The members of the royal clan are essentially above the law for the religious, administrative and judicial authorities. For example, when one of the princes killed a British animal at a reception in Jiddah, he was sentenced to life imprisonment, but he actually continued to live at the family villa with all its comforts.

In the 1960-1970's, according to official figures, approximately \$300 million a year were appropriated from the budget for the House of Saud family. But the real figure is considerably increased and, evidently, is tens of times more. Formally, there were 100,000 to 150,000 per prince. It is not known what it costs to maintain the approximately 2,000 wives who are members of the royal family.

Many of the king's sons are involved in big business. The princes enrich themselves in black-market deals and earn commissions on government contracts. Many of them own land adjoining the big cities. When industrial or housing construction is planned there, they acquire money to burn in selling this land, sometimes to the state and sometimes to private companies. It is considered normal for the princes to participate as partners and to obtain commissions for import deals totaling billions of dollars.

By the end of the 1970's the Saudi clan had become the wealthiest "family" in the world. It is fair to think the country's national income, which has risen to approximately 90 billion dollars, and channels abroad streams of Saudi investments, the overall amount of which is in excess of \$100 billion. Hundreds of princes are multi-

The Ulama (Theologians)

The influence of the ulama in Saudi Arabia has diminished somewhat in the two-three decades of the "oil era" as a result of the spread of education, the appearance of modern industrial sectors, new types of economic and administrative activity, the private travel abroad of a growing number of Saudis, the arrival of a mass of foreigners and the use of translator radios. However, their main positions as the upholders of religious orthodoxy and experts on the shari'ah and as the religious nobility connected with the Saudi clan have remained inviolate. The theologians operate, as a rule, behind the scenes, shunning contacts with foreigners. They represent a special conservative force with which the government always has to reckon. For example, the transfer of power from King Saud to Crown Prince Faisal, the ouster of King Saud from the throne and the proclamation of Faisal as king in 1964 was initially approved by a [fatwa]* signed by 12 leading ulama and only when made public.

As the imam, the head of the Saudi Muslims, the king has always emphasized his fidelity to religion, which implied consulting with the ulama and recognizing their high authority. The ulama retained a powerful instrument of influencing society--the committees for encouraging virtue and condemning sin (the League of Social Morality). Set up in the 1920's, these committees, as before, dictate to society the standards of morality, social life and conduct and seek to insure the unswerving segregation of women and the prohibition of smoking, alcohol and dancing. Record players appeared, tobacco came to be sold, private film shows were arranged, women appeared on the radio and newspapers and journals were colorfully illustrated in Saudi Arabia in the 1960's. But this is as far as the theologians have retreated.

The local social morality committees are subordinated to the provincial committees in Mejaz, Najd and Eastern province. They are controlled by members of the family of the religious teacher.

In November 1962 Crown Prince Faisal declared that he intended to limit the functions of the League of Social Morality because it was preventing him from "modernizing" society in the matter of the emancipation of women and the introduction of radio and television and certain types of entertainment. But his "modernization" was limited at that time to the appearance of women announcers on the radio.

[No 9, Sep 80 signed to press 28 Aug 80 pp 17-21]

[Text] New commercial, criminal and even civil codes have been introduced in the majority of Muslim countries in the 20th century. Only questions of personal status (marriage, divorce, inheritance) are still settled everywhere, with the exception of Turkey, in accordance with the canons of the shari'ah, although in a somewhat modified form. Saudi Arabia is the sole country where the shari'ah is preserved in its "pristine purity."

The judicial and legal system in Saudi Arabia, which is adapted and suited to the feudal centralized state, was not prepared for the socioeconomic problems engendered by the development of Arabian society. The country's predominant Wahhabi teaching,

*A deviation of Muslim figures on the admissibility of this action or phenomenon from the standpoint of the Koran and shari'ah.

which in fact belongs to the Hanbali school, confined the ijtima method to the propositions formulated in the first three centuries of Islam. This teaching rejected as "bidaa" ("innovation") everything formulated by Islam after this.

"Ijtihad"--the opportunity for the legal experts themselves to employ and interpret the fundamentals of the law and to derive therefrom answers for the solution of emerging problems. After the creation of the four orthodox schools, the doors of ijtihad were practically closed. The Hanbali ulamas categorically rejected ijtihad. For this reason Saudi students of law are still attempting to find the solution of the socioeconomic problems of the 20th century in the traditions of the 7th, 8th and 9th centuries, which is inevitably leading them up a blind alley.

Two examples show the difficulty of the application of medieval law for 20th century situations. The Koran prohibits profit and the collection of interest, but the modern capitalist economy cannot function without a money market, which is controlled by the profit mechanism. The statutes of Saudi Arabia's Foreign Exchange Office (actually the central and emissions bank) clearly prohibit the collection of interest. The legislation regulating the activity of the commercial banks simply ignores the question of interest. Wording--"payment for services"--which is simply a euphemism for profit--interest--was thought up to circumvent religious dogma.

Another problem is the absence of commercial law. The shari'ah contains numerous legal standards connected with trade. But a legal system created in the first centuries of Islam's existence simply could not have dealt with many aspects of contemporary economic activity. An attempt to draw up a commercial code fell through at the end of the 1960's owing to the strong opposition of the ulamas. Attempts continued in the 1970's to provide the country with a commercial code based on the shari'ah but with extracts from European law.

The question of reconciling the shari'ah with the requirements of a modern state is pertinent to this day. Many Saudi statesmen are troubled by this problem. These include, for example, Ahmed Zaki Yamani, minister of petroleum and mineral resources. He declared in a lecture in the American University in Beirut that "it is too late for the shari'ah to regulate contemporary problems." The minister believes that in order to apply the shari'ah the state must "select principles from various legal schools without exception: the criterion should be whatever is most suitable for the needs of an individual country. It may introduce laws for the solution of new problems, deriving solutions from the general principles of the shari'ah and the considerations of public interest and the well-being of society." This was a manifest break with Wahhabi fundamentalism, he could not find support among the ulamas, and the minister's appeal remained his "personal opinion."

Nevertheless, the Saudi ulamas found a loophole in the shari'ah for the approval of new rules of law necessary for the functioning of the economy and society. In accordance with the classification of the students of law of early Islam, all human actions were broken down into five categories: actions which Allah clearly demands, recommended, to which he was (legally) indifferent, condemned or prohibited. Thus there remained for the state one sphere of legislation--that to which Allah was indifferent and unconcerned. Taking advantage of this loophole ["nizam"] (statutes, regulations) or ["mawazim"] (royal decrees), which were formally not considered laws but which in fact were, have been introduced in Saudi Arabia since the 1920's.

Transformation of the Ruling Class

Despite its archaic nature, the Saudi ruling class has proven relatively stable and tenacious in holding on to power and is attempting to adapt to the changing conditions. One of its singularities is that it grew out of the inmost recesses of Arabian society and was not planted from outside. The temporary stability of the power of the Saudis is determined by the fact that, having dealt with the workers movement and the revolutionary-democratic opposition, this clan and the feudal-tribal and religious nobility connected with it satisfied the interests of other elements of the ruling class, primarily the bureaucracy and the military, and thereby secured their loyalty. The Saudis strike a careful balance between the predominant conservative circles in the ruling class and the growing number of supporters of reforms and some modernization.

A specific singularity of the Saudi ruling class is that it obtains the overwhelming part of its income not on the basis of private ownership of the implements and means of production, whether they be industrial enterprises, land or livestock, nor from feudal holdings nor from the exploitation of the Arabian working people's masses. The wealth in its hands is received thanks to its position of a feudal-tribal ruling clique of the Near East model sanctified by Islam and canonized by the shari'ah and relying on the machinery of state and an apparatus of suppression in the form of the army, police and the courts and the remnants of military-tribal organization. The principal source of income of the Saudi clan is the appropriation of a unique ground rent (which has merged with a rent-cum-tax) obtained thanks to the availability in the interior of the country of oil in enormous quantities.

Whereas there undoubtedly is here the exploitation of a comparatively small detachment of workers (a few tens of thousands together with the contract forms), the proportion of the surplus product of their labor is pitiful compared with the overall value of the raw material produced. In oblique form the Saudi ruling class exploits the labor of American, West European and Japanese working people which has been invested in oil equipment and technology. But even this materialized labor constitutes a negligible proportion of the value of the oil produced, which rightly belongs to the people of Saudi Arabia, but which has been usurped by its ruling class.

The feudal-tribal ruling clique is beginning to be "bourgeoisified." But its business activity (land speculation, the import trade, state contracts) is a secondary derivative of the oil revenue, and more often than not this "business" lives parasitically on the oil rent.

The Saudi ruling class, like, incidentally, the other Arabian oil monarchies, has acquired a further distinctive trait. While remaining a predominantly feudal (although having been "bourgeoisified") class inside the country, it has become a part of the international financial oligarchy. The colossal resources invested in securities and banks of the United States and West Europe have made the Saudi nobility an influential financial grouping in the capitalist world, although the lack of trained personnel, a banking machinery and experience makes its real influence and authority far less than the amounts of its bank accounts and securities. The distinctions between the Saudis' "own" money and the state treasury have never in this kingdom been so appreciable as to prompt the question of to whom the resources invested abroad belong. Through the channels of international finance organizations and transnational corporations the Saudi ruling class also participates--albeit in

secondary and tertiary roles, frequently as a stockholder--in the exploitation of the working people both of the developed capitalist and developing countries.

The dual character of the Saudi ruling class--"bourgeoisified" feudals inside the country and a specific financial bourgeoisie in the international arena--determines the contradictoriness, sometimes seeming, sometimes real, of its foreign policy. As the ally and client of American imperialism and as an integral part of the international financial capital united therewith by a community of interests, the Saudi royal regime should support American foreign policy actions and does indeed support many of them. But the Israeli policy of expansion and aggression threatens the security of Saudi Arabia itself and the stability of its regime. For this reason the king of Saudi Arabia (the spokesman for the interests of the ruling clan, which is concerned for the regime's internal stability), as the keeper of the sacred sites of Islam, the imam of the community of "monotheist" Muslims and the commander in chief of the orthodox, was forced to oppose Israeli aggression and Zionism, declare an oil embargo against the United States, support the just cause of the Arab people of Palestine, demand the liberation of East Jerusalem with its al-Aqsa mosque from the power of the "infidel" and condemn the Camp David agreements and the separate peace between Egypt and Israel.

The oil rent is distributed in Saudi Arabia centrally--with the help of the direct sharing of part of the revenue among the ruling class or by corruption, which has become a semilegal state institution. The basic movement of money--from top to bottom, from the monarch to his entourage, the feudal-tribal and religious nobility and the merchants--is also a continuation of the previous practice of the Arabian feudal state.

A bourgeoisie has grown up in commerce, land speculation, contracts, house building and some industrial activity in the country. The status of the top sales houses in Saudi society in the 1970's is equal to that of the influential Bedouin shaykhs, although the merchants' wealth is immeasurably greater. The origin of this wealth lies in speculative trade. The Saudi haute bourgeoisie lives parasitically on the oil revenues and oil rent to a considerable extent and, taking advantage of the backwardness of Saudi society, appropriates for itself an impressive proportion thereof upon its second distribution. It is precisely this which explains its sociopolitical conservatism. In addition, it has become a firm part of the regime and directly of the "ruling tribe" of the Saudis. The existing regime is to its liking insofar as it is contributing to its rapid enrichment, insuring the repression or graft necessary for its social stability. The state undertakes the direct or open financing of Saudi firms, granting them credits and subsidies and advantageous loans and relieving them of income tax and corporation tax and of equipment, machinery and material import dues.

The merger of the sales houses with the ruling feudal-tribal class is proceeding in two directions. Increasingly more of the feudal-tribal nobility--from representatives of the Saudi clan to the petty tribal shaykhs--are getting into tempting and highly profitable speculative trade activity. But even the Saudis have been forced to "move" at the top of the machinery of state, granting prestigious and monetary positions to representatives of the merchants. The members of confidants of the Ali-Reza, al-Husaybi and other leading commercial clans figure among the leaders of ministries, embassies and important departments. The representatives of merchant families lacking a genealogical tree with sufficient branches and the feudal-tribal nobility proud

of the "blueness" of its blood and distant ancestors have not entered into marriage. But this has not prevented their business, social and political cooperation.

It is not only domestic reasons which determine the conservatism of the highest strata of the commercial bourgeoisie. Traditionally cooperating with foreign capital, it is becoming its direct representative as an importer of finished products, raw material or equipment and its agent in contract work and is acquiring an openly comprador character. This applies both to the "new" bourgeoisie which has grown up around Aramco in Eastern province and to the "old" Hejaz merchant body. For this reason it is possible to employ the term "national" in respect of the Saudi haute bourgeoisie only with quotation marks or big reservations.

We have no information on the specific contradictions between the ruling nobility and the much stronger Saudi bourgeoisie. But it can be assumed that the speculative-trade bourgeoisie is nevertheless dissatisfied with the fact that the biggest piece of the oil pie goes not to it but to the Saudi clan. Being as a whole more enlightened and educated than the "ruling tribe," the Saudi bourgeoisie sees more clearly the danger of a widening of the gulf between the upper strata and the masses and fears that the regime's flagrant archaism will lead to a social explosion of such force that it will destroy both the edifice of the Saudi monarchy and the new and old merchant houses. For this reason, despite all its conservatism, it advocates reforms.

There is also a lack of information about the mood of the middle strata of the national bourgeoisie, in which category we may put the small wholesale and retail merchants, the strengthening rich peasantry, which has begun to operate as farmers, and the owners of small enterprises and workshops in the sphere of light industry, services, auto repair and household equipment. It may be assumed that these strata, despite deriving increasing income from the economic boom, are nevertheless dissatisfied with the total lack of political rights. As distinct from the major commercial houses, they have no say in decision-making even at the "technical level." Less well educated, as a rule, loyal to traditions and under the influence of the mutawwi (religious mentors) and ulamas, these strata could constitute a conservative opposition to the regime dissatisfied with the extravagant behavior and wastefulness of the ruling nobility and its modest reforms, which are interpreted as unacceptable "innovations."

Opposition

But it is precisely among the intermediate or middle urban strata that certain groups have appeared capable of political organization. Representatives of a revolutionary-democratic opposition to the regime are emerging therefrom--young officers, journalists, teachers, employees and small tradesmen. The skeleton of several underground revolutionary organizations has been formed from them and also from Saudi workers. They draw their ideological guidelines from outside, but they objectively express the interests both of the national bourgeoisie and the broad masses of the population.

The contemporary working class, which has taken shape in oil production and refining, in transportation and in a few medium-sized enterprises of the state and private sectors, has not succeeded in becoming an independent political force. Following a major oil workers' strike at the start of the 1950's, the organized nucleus of the workers was crushed, and strikes and unions were banned. In parallel with the repression there was a rapid increase in wages and an improvement in the general welfare of the

oil workers, railroaders and all skilled workers. Acquiring the characteristics of a "worker aristocracy," these categories of working people have temporarily lost their political activeness.

The enrichment of the "upper levels" and the prosperity of the intermediate strata have had only a negligible effect on the majority of the population. The land-starved or landless peasantry, the semi-nomads with few or no belongings and the small-scale craftsmen--they all bear the brunt of the capitalist transformation of society. Their living standard has risen far less than the state's increased revenue permits. The imports of food and industrial products is ruining them, while the transition to new occupations and entry into the ranks of the proletariat is accompanied by a difficult break with the former mode of production and way of life and does not always and immediately signify increased well-being. For the majority of inhabitants of Saudi Arabia the precapitalist forms of exploitation are being combined with the capitalist forms.

In the 1950's-1960's tens of thousands of foreign specialists--managers, engineers and technicians, lecturers, physicians, journalists and economists--were employed in the civil service, in business and in the free professions. They assumed the socio-economic role which should have been performed by the middle strata of Saudi society, but remained outside of it, as it were.

This situation was intensified at the end of the 1960's and the start of the 1970's, when many hundreds of thousands of skilled and unskilled immigrants, who constituted the majority of persons of hired labor not only among the "middle strata" but also among the workers, arrived in the country in connection with the increase in the oil revenue and the development of the economy. There are 2-3 million of them compared with 4-5 million indigenous inhabitants, including children. In the overwhelming majority of cases they do not become Saudi citizens and have inherited under the new historical and socioeconomic conditions the role which in traditional Arabian society was assigned the caste of craftsmen-(*sunnaa*) and freedmen. Both could acquire wealth and influence in their own sphere, but were never on a level with the ruling aristocracy and did not enjoy political rights. This is creating social tension of a new nature, although the immigrants still remain politically passive since they are interested in earnings and are under the brutal control of the police and security authorities.

Traditional Social Institutions Under the Conditions of Capitalist Development

It is difficult to find a scale of values for a general description of Saudi society of the "oil era" and a determination of the degree of development of capitalist relationships. If the proportion of revenue from capitalist-type enterprises, including oil production, of GNP is taken as the criterion, it would seem that Saudi society could have been termed "capitalist" back in the mid-1940's, which is clearly unacceptable. But if we speak of the number or proportion of persons connected with precapitalist modes of production, even in the 1970's they constitute more than one-half of the indigenous Saudi population. The form of distribution of the oil revenue among the ruling class is also precapitalist to a considerable extent. It is evidently more logical to speak of present-day Saudi Arabia as a transitional society,

a "feudal-capitalist" society, so to speak. It is natural that in such a society, where capitalism has been imposed on feudal-tribal relations complicated by a semicaste structure, social boundaries are uneven and often eroded.

The creation of a centralized state, the banning of tribal wars and raids and an end to the existence of tribes or their confederations as independent political units--all this weakened the tribal structure as early as the 1930's. The process of the weakening of tribal solidarity and its replacement with other social relations intensified sharply with the settled existence of the Bedouins, the growth of the cities and the development of industrial and commercial activity and the migration of the population from some regions to others.

However, even today Saudi Arabia, like the majority of other countries with strong tribal traditions, provides us with many examples of how family ties are preserved even under the new socioeconomic conditions and far outlive the economic, social, geographical, military-political and other conditions which engendered them. Kinship and membership of a clan or tribe still determines an individual's place in society and the success or failure of his advancement both in the traditional and in the new spheres of activity. The society gives priority to the interests and solidarity of the family group compared with the interests of the individual and those outside of this group. Favoritism and nepotism with respect to members of the family, clan and tribe predominate in the economic sphere of the state bureaucracy and in the armed forces. Upholding the family's honor and reputation is considered an important responsibility, and the obligation of blood vengeance links even distant relatives. The authority of the shaykhs and tribal nobility is very high.

We have deliberately not used the word "tribalism" in respect of Saudi Arabia since this is an established term applying to the societies of sub-Saharan African countries and have confined ourselves to the expression "kinship and tribal relations." Although Islam has recognized the equality of all people in principle, it has for many centuries peacefully coexisted with the tribal and semicaste structure of Arabian society. In the 1920's-1930's, when the formation of the kingdom of Saudi Arabia was being completed, kinship came to be inscribed in the essentially feudal structure of the centralized state. It is natural that it could not have disappeared in the three-four decades of the "oil era." However, clan relations in the country are still considered more important than competence, diligence and other professional qualities, and personal trust and sympathy is preferable to accounting accuracy. All this is being combined with difficulty with the development of capitalist relations and modernization as a whole.

As before, kinship is veiling both class exploitation and class boundaries in Arabian society. Tribal mutual assistance, patron and client relations and the patriarchal authority of the head of a family or tribe frequently prove stronger than the new social relations and class origin.

Although family relations remain powerful in Saudi society, their nature is gradually changing. Tribal associations are gradually giving way to family groups of a more limited size. These changes are particularly noticeable in the stratum which has received a modern education and among officials, merchants, the intelligentsia and skilled workers. Educated Saudis aspire more to monogamy. Polygamy is gradually disappearing in this milieu because a monogamous marriage corresponds more to contemporary man's way of life. These same families are inclined to provide their

daughters and even their wives with an education. The existence of such family centers reflects the evolution of the way of life and thinking born both of the new forms of education and experience and the conflict of the generations.

We would recall that the very word "Arabs" in Arabia meant nomads, primarily Bedouin tribes. It did not extend to the hereditary fellah-farmers, slaves and freedmen, the "lower tribes" and the craftsmen-[sunnaa] (the broader application of the word "Arabs" is the fruit of the 20th century).

National consciousness, that is, the consciousness of belonging to some "Saudi" nation is only weakly developed in the country. This is maintained by Western observers even. The appearance of new communications and information media, the strengthening of the economic interdependence of different provinces, contacts with foreigners and trips abroad, which have demonstrated the difference in the culture and way of life in Saudi Arabia and outside, have accelerated both the formation of a nation and the emergence of a sense of national affiliation. But the real formation of a "Saudi nation" even with the framework of the vaguely defined "al-ummah al-arabiyya" --"pan-Arab nation"--has undoubtedly far from reached the level this process has reached in, for example, Egypt or Syria. Despite the common language, culture and history, the territorial unity and the evolving economic unity, family-tribal and religious relations remain more powerful than "national" relations.

The very idea of a national territorial state--a motherland--is new for Arabian society. The concept of a "motherland" to which man demonstrates devotion primarily is contrary to the spirit of Islam, which stresses the universal community of believers counterposed to non-Muslims, and not the national groups, which differ from one another.

Islam

Together with kinship and tribal relations Islam remains the dominant traditional force in Saudi society. It permeates the sociopolitical structure, which has evolved in accordance with its canons, and the system of law, social life and social mentality.

Islam has exerted on the life of society in Saudi Arabia a more intensive and permanent influence than anywhere else in the Muslim world since precisely Saudi Arabia was the birthplace of the religion and remained isolated from rival ideological and cultural influences. Saudi Arabia never experienced the influence of foreign culture as did the Maghreb and Lebanon--French--Egypt--French and British--and the principalities of the Persian Gulf or South Yemen--British. Only at the end of the 1960's and start of the 1970's did the mass invasion of certain American-model consumer values and the training of several thousand Saudis in the United States signify that Saudi society was being subjected to American influence. But it was limited and only just affected some of the well-to-do and educated stratum.

It remains an open question in world science whether prior to the 20th century Islam was in itself an obstacle to the genesis and development of capitalist relations. But in Saudi Arabia Islam in its Wahhabi (Hanbali) form has been associated both with the traditional social institutions (such as the outmoded system of distribution of state treasury expenditure), with the archaic system of power in the shape of the Saudi clan and the groups associated with it, a system of law which has outlived its time,

traditional education with its stress on theological subjects and with medieval thinking, fatalism and resignation to the fate predetermined by Allah. For this reason modernists in Saudi Arabia, from the "free princes" through the low-born intellectuals and revolutionary-democratic opposition, have demanded the modernization of Islam and that it be brought into line with the needs of the final quarter of the 20th century and the rapid socioeconomic changes in Saudi society.

Islam in its Wahhabi form and tribal relations and kinship are real and long-lasting factors in Saudi society. Even under the conditions of the rapid development and inception of capitalist relationships they will influence both the evolution of the sociopolitical structure and the nature of potential revolutionary conflicts.

New Contradictions

Changes in the structure of society in Saudi Arabia have occurred more rapidly than in other Near East countries, considering the reference point, of course. The old social balance has been destroyed and is gone forever. The country has encountered acute internal contradictions unknown to it earlier. They have been caused by the gradual strengthening of the bourgeoisie, the growth of the working class, the weakening of kinship and tribal relations and the clash of interests of different classes and social groups and traditional concepts and new sociopolitical ideas. But it is difficult for us to determine the degree of social tension in the country. The Saudi press absolutely fails to reflect social problems, political parties, unions, clubs and gatherings are banned and the revolutionary-democratic opposition has been driven underground or has emigrated, therefore evidence and facts can only be indirect and isolated.

At first sight it would seem that an explosive situation has not taken shape in Saudi Arabia. The ruling class, particularly the top of the social pyramid--the Saudi clan--is holding onto power and demonstrating that it does not intend to relinquish it. It is precisely it which has implemented some reforms, and not representatives of the middle strata, the army or the bureaucracy or the bourgeois or bourgeois-democratic low-born intellectuals who have taken power in the majority of other Arab countries. The Saudi clan has made the changes cautiously, under pressure from the stratum in the bureaucratic machinery, armed forces and business circles which has had a modern education. A new labor code, television, modern time concepts, including the use of GMT, economic plans, secular education, including schools for girls, and certain changes in everyday life appeared in Saudi Arabia in the 1960's-1970's. All these innovations--bid'aa--were inconceivable two-three decades ago, but the ruling class has attempted to protect itself against the worst and from social upheavals dangerous to it with "modernization." Realizing that it could not manage without modern learning, the Saudi clan began to purchase for its members the very best education and at the same time coopt into the leadership of the bureaucratic machinery representatives of other social groups who are educated, but loyal to the regime.

To keep the oppressed classes and strata of the population--from workers to freedmen and from shi'ites to immigrants--in a state of subjection the ruling class has improved and strengthened the machinery of repression and the armed forces. A substantial proportion of the budget is spent precisely on the army, the National Guard and the police, and increasingly modern arms and technical equipment have been imported for them. Their numbers increased several times over in the 1960's-1970's. The Saudi clan has employed the security authorities and the armed forces unhesitatingly for the bloody suppression of the revolutionary-democratic and all other opposition.

Possessing ever increasing oil revenue, which has assumed colossal proportions, the Saudi regime until recently successfully "bought itself out" of the demands for fundamental changes. Potentially dissatisfied and politically active persons were absorbed by the swelling and inefficient, but prestigious and well-paid machinery of state. Comparatively broad strata have made a fortune in the economic boom. The regime has up to now secured for itself a sufficiently firm and broad social base in the form of the middle urban strata and the bureaucracy and the "noble" nomad tribes, which have received royal subsidies, and in the form of the conservative body of merchants and the embryonic industrial bourgeoisie. But a particular feature of Saudi society has also been the fact that a significant proportion of the oppressed, exploited classes and population strata which might have been potentially hostile to the regime remained for a long time in darkness and ignorance, was under the influence of the tribal shaykhs and other traditional leaders and the mutawwi and the ulamas, was "fattened" by the authorities to a slight extent and was conservative in outlook.

This combination of reforms from above, repression, the "bribery" of a considerable proportion of the population and the conservatism of Saudi society has secured the temporary stability of one of the most archaic regimes in the world. But the socio-economic changes in the society themselves and even the elements of modernization that have had to be introduced from above have broadened the base for conflict between the regime and the social classes and strata which aspire to deeper reforms and, ultimately, to a seizure of power.

The social balance in Saudi Arabia has been destroyed, but a new one, despite all the props and partial measures, has not been created. Such a situation is unstable and fraught with social explosions in the most unexpected forms.

Last November several hundred insurgents seized the Ka'ba in Mecca and held it for several days. They were driven out of the Muslim world's principal mosque after heavy fighting.

The nature of the organization which perpetrated this act remains unclear, but there is no doubt that it reflected a broad movement of protest, which has assumed a religious form, against the [korrumpirovanny] regime.

The shi'ite population of Eastern province became agitated at the end of last year and the start of this year--clearly under the influence of the Iranian events. The shi'ites' demonstrations were suppressed only with the use of armed force.

The shaken royal clan took steps, attempting to restore the confidence that had been undermined. The governor of Mecca was dismissed. King Khaled, Crown Prince Fahd and other senior princes hastened to pay calls on the Bedouin shaykhs and visit the military bases. They purged the state security apparatus--six generals were dismissed.

The myth of Saudi Arabia's "stability" was dispelled. The events in Mecca and Eastern province showed the fragility and vulnerability of the Saudi feudal regime.

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REGIONAL

FRG PRESS: WORKERS JOIN STUDENTS IN ESTONIAN DEMONSTRATIONS

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 25 Oct 80 p 3

[Article by W.A.: "Reports of First Strikes in Estonia: Demands of Thousands of Tartu Factory Workers Largely Met; Protests Against Russification"]

[Text] Stockholm, 24 Oct--More and more warning signals are apparently going from Estonia to the authorities in Moscow, even though details about the protests against the pressure of Russification become known in the West only days or weeks later due to increased control measures. While student protests have been predominant to date, recently provoking a pointed warning from Estonian Interior Minister Tiber to the population of Tallinn (Reval), recent information from Baltic exile organizations in Stockholm reports a strike by some 1,000 factory workers in Tartu (Dorpat) at the beginning of October. The director of the aid organization for political prisoners in Estonia, Ants Kippar, said Thursday that that demonstration was directly linked to Polish events, and added that this was the first information he had had of a strike in Estonia since the Russian occupation 40 years ago.

Workers of a factory producing and repairing agricultural machinery in Tartu are said to have staged a 2-day strike beginning 1 October, demanding payment of production premiums, and protesting against a rise in the production plan and deficiencies in delivery. The management agreed relatively rapidly to accede to the demands, and to guarantee the payment of bonuses until the end of the year. Two high Soviet functionaries who had come from Moscow in short order had even urged greater speed, and had already effected the payment of bonuses on 8 October.

Two days later student demonstrations occurred also in Tartu, similar to those that had previously taken place in the Estonian capital of Tallinn and that had been characterized by nationalist demands such as "Freedom for Estonia" and "Russians out." The hundreds of demonstrators in Tartu had also demanded the dismissal of the Russian minister of education charged with Estonia, Elsa Grechkina, who only 3 months previously had replaced the Estonian education minister, Ferdinand Eisen, reportedly to intensify Russian language instruction in Estonian schools.

Kippar explained further that the Russian language was already taught in kindergarten, and had pushed Estonian to second place, as far as hours of instruction were concerned. Resistance against the increasing Russification

pressure had primarily originated in Tartu, spreading to Tallinn on the Gulf of Finland.

The Estonian dissident Mart Miklus, a friend of Sakharov, had been arrested in Tartu on 29 April, having signed a protest against the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and the Olympic yachting regatta in Tallinn with some 20 colleagues. Miklus is said to have been transferred to Tallinn's central prison, where he had begun a hunger strike. In the meantime, the term of his protective custody had been extended to 13 December, which, according to Kippar, was the earliest date that the trial could begin. A close associate of the biologist Miklus, the chemist Jueri Kukk, is said to have been also arrested in Tallinn, but transferred to the fifth psychiatric clinic in Leningrad in the middle of July. Since 24 September Kukk has allegedly been "undergoing treatment" at Moscow's Serbskiy Institute.

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CSC: 1826

REGIONAL

KOLBIN ADDRESSES CONFERENCE ON IMPROVING PRODUCT QUALITY

Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian 9 Oct 80 pp 2-3

[Article: "The Struggle for Quality Is A Struggle for Improving the Well-Being of the People"]

[Text] The other day E. A. Shevardnadze, candidate member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of the Central Committee of the Georgian CP, opened the second republic scientific-practical conference on improving the quality of manufactured products, which has become an important event in the life of party, Soviet, and economic organizations on the eve of the 11th Five-Year Plan.

The conference summed up the results of the work of party organizations and economic organs on the accomplishment of the most important task of the 10th Five-Year Plan -- ensure that it become above all a five-year plan of quality and a five-year plan of efficiency in the name of the further growth of the national well-being.

The participants at this conference verified with satisfaction that the first such conference, which took place in November 1977, played an important role in the accomplishment of the most important economic-political task set forth by the 25th Congress of the CPSU and received a large response.

In addition to this, the conference defined the tasks for further improving the efficiency of production and the quality of manufactured products in all sectors of the republic economy.

In his report at the conference "On the results of carrying out the recommendations of the first scientific-practical conference and on the tasks of republic party organizations with respect to the further improvement of production efficiency and product quality in economic sectors" Second Secretary of the Central Committee of the Georgian CP G. V. Kolbin noted that the 10th Five-Year Plan is coming to a close, a period in which the Communist organization of Georgia strived to carry out purposeful work in the fulfillment of the basic demand of the 25th CPSU Congress -- to improve the efficiency and quality of labor. The work of all the party organizations, collectives, enterprises, associations, ministries, and departments was directed toward the accomplishment of not just one or two indicators, as has been the custom in the past, but a whole group of indicators, according to which our work is evaluated when summing up the results of the all-Union socialist competition.

With each year this work has been perfected with respect to the accomplishment of all the basic lines of the economic and social development of the republic. According to the results of the 4th year of the 10th Five-Year Plan the planned tasks with respect to the growth rate of industrial production, the reduction of prime cost, the improvement of product quality, the completion of the most important industrial and housing projects, and freight transfer have been accomplished, discipline is being constantly strengthened, industrial illness is being reduced, and so on.

Three years have passed since the first conference, and now it is time to total the results of what has been accomplished and to determine what came out of it and what did not come out of it, says Comrade Kolbin. We must cultivate what was good, correct what was unsuccessful, and work out a program of action for the 11th Five-Year Plan.

The 4 tasks given at that first conference were created at the last scientific-practical conference. The sections are comprised of industry, transportation and communications, the light and food industry, agricultural, the economy and planning, the construction industry and the construction materials industry, and the production. Each of them discussed the problem as it relates to their own sector and determine their own tasks for achieving the final results of improving quality. It was decided that the sections will become permanent. And they did indeed conduct their work all the past 3 years.

A scientific commission was formed for carrying out the overall recommendations of the conference and directing all the work on improving the quality of manufactured products. Comrade Kolbin notes that among a certain group of people it became a habit to criticize the creation of the commission. They say, the only work accomplished by the commission is that of attending sessions of the commission. It can be said, the speaker further points out, that this is only idle talk based on a false evaluation. Indeed, what is a commission on quality? It is a group of people whose obligation and responsibility is to concern themselves with questions of quality. Their obligation and one group makes it possible to carry out their responsibilities in a more purposeful manner without duplicating each other's work and without neglecting heretofore neglected questions in this respect.

Along with the scientific assistants the republic commission on the quality of manufactured products used the same principle to form commissions on quality in all the districts, regions, and rayons of the party, in all the ministries, departments, enterprises, and construction organizations.

The members of the commission have justified their purpose. They are functioning fruitfully and purposefully in the Tbilisi, Kutaisi, and Rustavi gorkoms of the party.

They have worked in a variety of operational forms and methods. This includes the organization of various scientific-practical conferences, seminars, lectures, consultations, lectures, reports, discussions, and so on, devoted to questions of quality and efficiency and many other actions designed to the achievement of the final results. The results are evident. In 1961, for example, the industry of Tbilisi produced 919 articles with the state Mary of quality of 97.7 percent of the total amount of manufactured products. On 1

September 1980 the output of articles with the Mark of Quality reached 1,017 designations, and the proportion was 21.5 percent.

The speaker took special note of the work of the Kutaisi city commission on quality, which concentrated its basic attention on the elaboration and introduction of overall systems for managing quality in production. It was the initiative of the city commission that induced 18 industrial enterprises of the city to introduce overall systems of quality management and approximately 200 standards regulating the work of individual subsystems for quality management of labor and production. The number of articles receiving higher grades of quality increased from 142 units to 248 units, and the proportion of such production in the total volume of industrial production reached 32.5 percent.

Among the measures being carried out by the city commission on quality the following should be noted: the creation of a people's university "of quality management in labor and production", which has brought together plant directors and the secretaries of the party organizations of enterprises and institutions in nearly all the economic sectors of the city. The first graduation of this university took place in June of this year.

There is much to be said that is positive about the work of the commission on quality in the cities of Sukhumi, Batumi, Tkbinvili, Chiatura, Gori, Poti, and others.

As in all of our large enterprises, the decisive role in the achievement of the highest results belongs to the cadres, states Comrade Kolbin. Much depends on their competency and skill to organize affairs. The question of improving efficiency and quality requires considerable reorganization in the work of all our cadres. Taking this into consideration the Central Committee of the Georgian CP has worked together with the cadres to develop this work. Thus in 1979 seminars were conducted everywhere for improving competency with respect to economic questions. Using practical examples plant managers learned how to economize on expenditures and how to find ways for guaranteeing the necessary financial security of an enterprise.

A certification of directors, some of whom were found to be inadequate in their jobs from the point of view of their knowledge of economics, was conducted in the first half of 1980. Some of them were given reprimands and a time period was established for their preparation for a subsequent certification test.

Special importance was attached to instructing people in matters of the quality control of product output. A branch network of houses and study rooms of quality played an important role in this. The houses of quality in Tbilisi, Kutaisi, Rustavi, Poti, Gori, and Telavi won extensive recognition.

Practical work in the organization of propaganda demonstrated that the vast and varied experience that was accumulated provides a basis for scientific and theoretical premises.

The republic administration of Gosstandart [State Committee of Standards of the USSR Council of Ministers] played an important role in the training and teaching of personnel in questions of the quality control of manufactured products. With its active participation during the years of the 10th Five-Year Plan approximately 40 republican, city, and rayon scientific-practical conferences and seminars and six

and its were prepared and conducted, approximately 9,000 lectures were read, and 2,100 people were trained through the training and consultation office of the All-Union Institute of Gosstandart for improving qualifications.

In recent years the work of the Scientific-Technical Society of the republic has undergone a noticeable revival. In the beginning of last year the Bureau of the Central Committee of the Georgian CP approved their initiative for disclosing additional production reserves. The competition under the slogan "Each council of the NTO [Scientific-Technical Society] -- is like a military staff for finding production reserves" is accumulating momentum with each year. A little more than 200 enterprises and organizations participated in it 2 years ago, but now there are 620 primary participating organizations of NTO, which have their own accounts of disclosed reserves for increasing the volume of production.

The trade union organizations are playing a key role in the dissemination of this experience and in the activation of the work of the Scientific-Technical Society of the republic.

Marshall Kishin spoke in detail about that vast role which belongs to the administration of Gosstandart and the newly created department of quality in the republic. They have organized the annual planning of the production of articles with the State Mark of Quality according to enterprises, ministries, and departments. A parallel graph was compiled for the presentation of products for the Mark of Quality according to individual types with an assignment of concrete production dates. The planning of the certification of quality with respect to products according to individual regions of the republic also turned out to be effective. Such comprehensive planning afforded party and economic directors an opportunity to systematically analyze the fulfillment of plans, to effectively find reserves, and to manage the processes for achieving the final result.

The tendency of specialists to conduct technical-economic research on this or that region and to find reserves for the awarding of the Mark of Quality has been put into practice. Such assistance has been given to the cities of Chiatura, Khashuri, Telavi, Tskhumi, Zestafoni, Makharadze, and others.

Seminars, meetings and review-competitions conducted by the republic commission on quality have turned out to be an important stimulus for improving the technical level of product quality and for introducing quality control systems.

Mass media is also of considerable importance in the work to improve efficiency and quality. The speaker notes that in the work of the editorial staffs of newspapers, television and radio significant changes toward increasing attention on questions concerning quality are noticeable. For example, when a republic inspection of industrial enterprises with respect to the quality of product output was announced in July 1979, the response on the part of the newspapers to this event was lively. Corresponding permanent readings were introduced. In the material published under these readings production managers, workers, economic and party workers, and their unions revealed various aspects of the problem concerning quality and graphically showed how these questions are being resolved in this or that collective, how efforts are allowed, and how success can be guaranteed. The work experience of individual labor collectives on the problems of improving quality were generalized and analyzed in detail.

The editorial staffs are waging an irreconcilable struggle with manifestations of formalism and red tape in the matter of introducing overall quality control systems and with any manifestations of bad management and irresponsibility.

These and many other examples of the organizational work involved in the improvement of product quality attest to the fact that the chief method was the method of persuasion, which brought forth in each individual a feeling of necessity to improve one's own work in the struggle to improve the quality of manufactured products.

Comrade Kolbin notes that Gosstandart was able to establish close contacts with the office of public prosecutor of the republic, its organs in the rayons and cities, the Committee of People's Control, and Gosarbitrazh (State Arbitration Commission).

The organs of the Georgian Office of Public Prosecutor systematically verify compliance with legislation concerning responsibility for the manufacture of poor-quality, substandard, and incomplete products in the ministries and departments, production associations, and enterprises of the republic. Moreover, recently this work has become considerably more active.

Practice has shown that when an overall approach to quality control is accomplished in a creative, business-like, and persistent manner, it becomes possible to achieve a significant improvement in the quality, reliability, and durability of products in a relatively short period of time. At the present time 320 industrial enterprises are producing 2,253 different products falling into the higher grades of quality.

The quantity of manufactured products with the Mark of Quality increased and in enterprises of Union subordination -- to 325. The volume of such products has risen correspondingly. In 1979 it reached almost 1.5 billion rubles with a proportion amounting to 19.7 percent. This is a tenfold increase over the beginning of the 10th Five-Year Plan.

Currently the industry of the republic is producing 130 million rubles' worth of products with the Mark of Quality every month, that is, almost 50 million rubles more than for all of 1975. The successes achieved have allowed the republic to occupy leading positions in the country. According to data compiled in 1978 we were in 7th place among the other republics with respect to quality indicators and, moreover, we had fallen significantly behind Belorussian SSR, Latvian SSR, Armenian SSR and others, but according to the data compiled last year we moved up to 3rd place yielding only to Belorussian SSR and Latvian SSR. Even more perceptible results were achieved in the first few months of this year. According to the results of the first 6 months the volume of manufactured products with the Mark of Quality was more than 1 billion rubles and the percentage of the total was 21.5 percent. This is the best indicator in the country after the Belorussian SSR.

Recently the Mark of Quality was granted to such important products for the economy of the republic as motor vehicles, electric motors, welding units, electric stock-piling machines, electric saws, steel pipes, chemical fibres, manganese, ferro-alloys, metal cutting lathes, and grinders. It is gratifying that the Mark of Quality is also awarded to such products which are not only in great demand in our country, but also abroad.

The speaker spoke in detail on questions concerning the mastering of new types of industrial production and the raising of their quality by means of introducing the achievements of scientific-technical progress. More than 750 measures were carried out in this direction in the economy of the republic in 1980.

The accomplishment of an extensive program to introduce progressive manufacturing methods, mechanization, and automation of production processes will provide for further improvement in the quality of manufactured products and production efficiency. Presently 230 measures are being introduced with respect to this direction of scientific-technical progress.

Research work in fundamental as well as in the applied fields of science has been expanded in order to create a lasting base for the further acceleration of scientific-technical progress. More than 300 scientific-research subjects have been worked out. Work on special-purpose, scientific-technical programs has been developed, which, to a significant degree, will facilitate an improvement in the coordination of the work of a large number of scientific-research and design organizations participating in the accomplishment of economic tasks.

In the 10th Five-Year Plan special attention in the work of the republic party organizations has been given to questions concerning the increased production and improved quality of consumer goods. The goal in the 11th Five-Year Plan is to manufacture more consumer goods with the Mark of Quality.

The speaker also points out deficiencies in organizational work including deficiencies in the work of the republic commission on quality. We in our work are placing a strong and, if you please, primary emphasis on the final result -- an increase in the proportion of articles with the state Mark of Quality, states Kolbin. Moreover, the question of an overall quality control system, that is, a combination of technical, economic, social, and organizational factors, which will provide for the involvement of a large number of workers in the work of improving quality, remains far in the background.

In examining questions of quality control and the planning of a technical level the speaker noted that the stages of production begin with technical training, and only an extensive introduction of standard manufacturing processes makes up the composite part of a systematic organization of quality control on the basis of planned tasks.

Work on the improvement of standard manufacturing processes on the principles of standards was begun in the republic already in 1976. At the present time this work is being successfully carried out in the Tbilisi Aviation Plant imeni Dimitrov, the "Elektronostroitel" Production Association, and in other enterprises. But, as was noted in the report, the nature of the scope of all the problems has not yet been shaped with respect to the technological preparation of production, the formation of a standardized-technological base of production preparation, which surpasses the contemporary state of technology, and progressive experience accumulated in the various industrial sectors.

There was also a detailed discussion of the output of products belonging to the selected category of quality. In the beginning of the 10th Five-Year Plan the proportion of such production in the industry of the republic amounted to 1.2 percent, which is nearly twofold of that of the average national indicator (0.7 percent).

Products of the second category of quality were manufactured by enterprises in seven ministries and departments.

In order to more effectively reduce the volume of such production the Georgian Republic Administration of Gosstandart undertook a study of a list of such products belonging to the second category of quality and held a special exhibit in the republic office of quality. A decision was made to bring an immediate halt to the production of certain types of articles, and as far as many types of articles were concerned a time limit was set for their modernization and for a secondary certification for the purpose of converting these products into the first category of quality. As a result of these measures the proportion of products belonging to the second category of quality was reduced to 0.3 percent by the end of 1978. A tendency to reduce the volume of products belonging to the second category of quality was observed in 1979 when their output was reduced to 11 million rubles while their proportion was reduced to 0.1 percent. In the first half of 1980 the volume of such production was brought down to a minimum.

It is also necessary to investigate the state of affairs with respect to uncertified production, indicates Comrade Kolbin. Its proportion in the total volume of production was reduced drastically during the years of the 10th Five-Year Plan. In the beginning of the five-year plan this volume amounted to more than 10 percent, but in 1978 it was reduced to 6.6 percent and in 1979 to 3.5 percent. Unfortunately, it must be noted that in the current year the proportion of uncertified products was not reduced, but according to the results of the first half year it even increased somewhat and amounted to 4 percent.

Problems concerning quality in the area of construction have become extremely urgent. This sector, as is known, has been called upon to play a vast role in the further improvement of the whole economy and the material and cultural standard of living of the people.

The vast scales and the annual growth of the volume of capital investment in the country have required a more active transition to progressive methods of accomplishing construction projects. Definite advances have been noted in this direction in the work of the party and Soviet organs of the republic.

Questions concerning the improvement of quality in housing construction have been examined repeatedly in the boards of the ministries and departments of the republic; numerous measures have been worked out, and dozens of orders have been issued. However, it must be noted with regret that all this basically bears a formal nature since the desired results were not achieved. Thus, in the future the work of the construction organizations on the improvement of quality should be evaluated only from the point of view of the final results.

In the area of agriculture and in sectors concerned with its maintenance work is being conducted on the elaboration of new standards for the products produced by it and on the introduction of an overall quality control system. Administrations and departments dealing with standardization have been created in the ministries and departments of the republic involved in agricultural production.

In the last 3 years the republic Ministry of Procurement introduced an overall quality control system for output in five subordinate enterprises.

Overall quality control systems are being worked out in 13 enterprises of Gruzgoskomsel'khostekhnika (Georgian State Committee for the Sale of Agricultural Equipment, Spare Parts, Mineral Fertilizers, and Other Material and Technical Supplies). Coordinating work groups have been created here. Up to 150 standards have been worked out and 49 have been introduced in 14 enterprises. Measures for introducing an overall quality control system have been worked out and approved for agricultural equipment enterprises during the 11th Five-Year Plan.

Makharadzevskiy Rayon is the site of a production association for the administration of agriculture, in which there is a council for coordinating the work of the association. This council is made up of representatives of organizations processing agricultural raw material. The rayon has concluded an agreement with the Institute of Standardization of Gosstandart for the purpose of introducing overall quality control systems in agricultural production.

At the same time, as was noted by the speaker, opportunities for improving the quality of agricultural products are still not being fully utilized in the Georgian SSR, on the whole, which results in the fact that a considerable portion of fruit, vegetables, milk, meat, and other products delivered to the state are of substandard or poor quality.

In determining a program of economic development for the 11th Five-Year Plan, noted Comrade Kolbia, we should give primary importance to questions concerning the improvement of quality. With the exception of food products it is a question of increasing the output of higher category products to 2 billion rubles, that is, a question of exceeding the level achieved in the 10th Five-Year Plan by 1.5-fold: in enterprises under Union jurisdiction the goal is to achieve a percentage of no less than 50 percent, in industrial enterprises of Union-republic ministries and departments a proportion of no less than 18 percent, and in industry under republic jurisdiction -- no less than 20 percent.

The goal is to increase the proportion of products belonging to a higher category of quality to 24 percent throughout the republic on the whole by 1990, which is 1.2-fold greater than what is being planned for 1985.

In the first two years of the forthcoming five-year plan serious organizational work on the revision of obsolete republic standardization and technical documents should be accomplished in the republic for the purpose of raising their scientific-technical level in order to unconditionally guarantee the output of high-quality products.

It is necessary to find ways, indicates the speaker, for the further concentration of efforts on the part of scientific and production collectives and for ensuring that there is a purposeful coordination of their work. The idea of working out overall, comprehensive programs with respect to the most important problems of the economic development of the republic goes beyond the framework of individual enterprises. Overall, comprehensive programs should become an effective form for managing scientific-technical progress. They will make it possible to avoid red-tape and bureaucratic pettiness in the work of many scientific institutions, provincialism, and duplication. On their basis, for example, scientific principles for the utilization and renewal of the natural resources of Georgia will be found

and ways for increasing the efficiency of methods used in the extraction of oil, gas, and other resources will be determined. The scientific-systematic management and coordination of work within the framework of the program should be dealt with by the State Committee on Science and Technology of the Republic and the branch ministries and departments in close cooperation with the republic administration of Gosstandart.

In concluding his report Comrade Kolbin pointed out that the goal of improving efficiency and quality should become the chief goal of the 11th Five-Year Plan.

Chairman V. V. Boytsov of USSR Gosstandart was called upon to speak.

"We are attaching much importance to today's conference, which comes at a time of active preparation for the 26th Congress of the CPSU and for the working out of the basic direction of economic and social development in our country during the 11th Five-Year Plan," states Comrade Boytsov.

The speaker emphasized that the successes achieved in improving the efficiency and quality of production are a result of the vast and purposeful work of the Central Committee of the Georgian CP, party and Soviet organs, ministries and departments, and the collectives of the enterprises and organizations of the republic, which is being carried out for improving efficiency and quality in accordance with the decisions of the 25th Congress of the CPSU, subsequent Plenums of the CPSU Central Committee, and also in accordance with the instructions and conclusions contained in the speeches of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, general secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU and chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

The documents of your conference make up the basis of the program in the republic for further improving efficiency and quality in the 11th Five-Year Plan.

Comrade Boytsov directed the attention of the participants of the conference to those essential changes in the area of standardization and metrology which have taken place in the country in the last few years.

In the first place: the attitude toward standardization at all levels of management has changed radically. The central committees of the Communist parties of the Union republics and local party organs are paying considerable attention to the utilization of the possibilities of standardization and metrology, and this is especially true for Georgia.

Secondly: the scope of the work on standardization has changed, the area of application for standards has expanded. Today more than 200,000 state, sectorial, and republic standards and technical conditions for the most important forms of production are in effect in the economy.

Sectorial standardization and the standards of enterprises have undergone serious development.

Thirdly: the content of the standards themselves has also changed. During the years of the ninth and tenth five-year plans all existing standards were reviewed and renewed by the ministries and departments and USSR Gosstandart.

As a result, we will have renewed nearly all state standards by the end of the 10th Five-Year Plan. This will significantly raise the scientific-technical level of standards and will have a direct effect on the improvement of production efficiency and the quality of manufactured products in the 11th Five-Year Plan.

In the fourth place: the forms and methods of carrying out work on standardization changed essentially. Objective prerequisites were created for the effective utilization of standardization in practically all sectors of the economy.

Beginning with the 10th Five-Year Plan the plans for state standardization make up a component part of the State Plan of Economic Development for the USSR. And this has organically combined the work on standardization with the accomplishment of the most important tasks of economic and social development in the country.

In the 10th Five-Year Plan Gosstandart together with the ministries and departments began work on the standardization of the most important forms of production on the basis of programs of overall standardization. At the present time there are 142 such programs in the country. It will become necessary to work out and implement 175 new programs during the new five-year plan.

The experience in the first four and a half years of the current five-year plan has shown that the programs of overall standardization represent the most effective methods of resolving the problem of improving efficiency and quality.

However, such an approach requires the further strengthening of state discipline, more coordination, the elimination of interdepartmental duplication and separate action, and increased responsibility on the part of ministries and departments not only for the qualitative, but timely elaboration and introduction of programs on the whole as well as individual standards.

In the fifth place: the scope and effectiveness of work on international standardization, particularly within the framework of CEMA, have increased radically in recent years.

The transition to CEMA standards, which is obligatory for all CEMA-member countries, is a principal element.

At the present time the CPSU Central Committee and the government are emphasizing the urgency of the task of raising the technical level of state standards and CEMA standards to the level of the requirements established by international standards. This means that it is necessary to orient ourselves not to today's opportunities in production, as some managers of enterprises and workers in individual ministries incorrectly assume, but to the technical level achieved in worldwide practice and even to the idea of surpassing it.

And finally: with the passage of the resolution of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers on improving planning and the economic mechanism, the questions of standardization, certification, testing of products, and the evaluation of their quality are intimately connected with planning, material and moral incentives, and price formation.

As a result of the work already completed in the first four and a half years of the 10th Five-Year Plan the output of products falling into a higher category of quality increased by more than 2.5-fold and on 1 July 1980 amounted to 15.3 percent of the total volume of production.

During that same period almost 15,000 new products, whose technical-economic indicators correspond to contemporary requirements, were introduced into production. At the same time more than 7,000 obsolete products were taken out of production.

Belorussia, Georgia, and Latvia, where this indicator exceeds 20 percent, secured the highest achievements among the republics. Comrade Boytsov noted that Georgian SSR had risen from 13th place at the beginning of the five-year plan to second place.

However, there are serious deficiencies in the work on raising the technical level and improving the quality of products, he goes on to say. Although the output of products of a higher category is increasing from year to year, unfortunately, many products of a low technical level and quality are still being produced.

What are the reasons for the output of low-quality products?

In the first place, notes the speaker, this to a significant degree is caused by the fact that the idea of providing for manufactured products of a high technical level and quality has not yet been given proper attention in the work of the Union and republic ministries, associations, and enterprises, which are obligated to bear full responsibility for the quality of products manufactured in our country and for their conformity with the requirements of the economy and public demand.

In the second place, existing opportunities for standardization are being insufficiently used.

As is known, quality begins already in the planning stage.

However, far from all the newly developed products correspond with the requirements of a higher category of quality as is demanded by state standards.

An analysis of the verification of a number of scientific-research, drawing and designing organizations in several ministries indicates that in many instances serious violations of standards are being allowed.

A further improvement in the forms and methods of conducting certification is an important reserve for raising the quality of production.

Today we cannot be satisfied with the work in this area since many deficiencies exist in the way in which certification is being carried out.

The elimination of deficiencies in the certification process acquires a special urgency since the whole mechanism of economic and material incentives is so closely connected with the results of the certification of products.

Much importance is given to the development of the system of testing products in the overall system of measures for improving the technical level and quality of

production by the resolution of the CPSU Central Committee and the government on improving the economic mechanism.

Comrade Boytsov emphasized that this work is new for us, it essentially expands the frontiers and the area of work conducted by Gosstandart and its republic and territorial organs.

In this connection the role of territorial centers of standardization and metrology is increasing significantly. These centers are not only responsible for making sure that there is conformity with the specifications and requirements of standards, but also for all of the organizational and systematic work conducted on testing.

The territorial organs of Gosstandart have also been entrusted with the task of strengthening state supervision of compliance with standards and specifications.

It must be recognized, states Comrade Boytsov, that permissiveness in supervision results in serious losses for the country and damages the interests of the state. We cannot reconcile ourselves with such a situation and we should take all measures to improve the effectiveness of state and departmental supervision in particular.

Comrade Boytsov goes on to say that in a number of Union republics, krays, oblasts, and industrial centers of the country the active elaboration of overall systems for managing the economic activities of enterprises is being carried out under the leadership of party organs.

A general, principally important trait of the system being worked out is that they find a basis in the standards of an enterprise, an area of active application which is being constantly expanded. The standards of an enterprise are used to improve economic activity and to strengthen a standardized base of production and they also make up a constantly working mechanism for the implementation of enterprise plans and the functioning of management systems.

Inasmuch as the implementation of measures for expanding the use of overall systems for improving production efficiency and the quality of work are able to bring about a successful accomplishment of the economic and social development tasks of the country and an improvement of planning and the economic mechanism in the 11th Five-Year Plan, special importance will be attached to an extensive demonstration of the progressive experience of the republics, krays, oblasts, ministries, and departments at the exhibit "Efficiency and Quality", an exposition which will be held in the main pavilion of the USSR VDNKh [Exhibition of Achievements of the National Economy of the USSR].

This exhibit will become an important means of disseminating progressive experience. Comrade Boytsov announced that among four republics which achieved the best results in the 10th Five-Year Plan the achievement of Georgia will be shown at the exhibit.

In conclusion Comrade Boytsov stated that the problem of quality is a nationwide problem, it affects the interests of each worker and collective on the whole, and it must be resolved by everyone together. All efforts must be subordinated to the implementation of this policy.

In their speeches the participants at the conference talked about the necessity of basing the work of party, Soviet, trade union, komsomol organizations, and specialists from all economic sectors on the decisions of the November (1979) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, the 18th (1979) Plenum of the Central Committee of the Georgian CP, and the resolution of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers "On improving planning and strengthening the effect of the economic mechanism on improving production efficiency and quality of work", and on other program documents of the party and government. It was noted that daily attention must be given to the implementation of plans for further raising the technical level and quality of manufactured products and for coordinating the functions of state and departmental inspections, which include the responsibility for quality control, for the purpose of determining the scientific-technical level of standardization documentation in the republic. It is also necessary to conduct reviews of all republic standards and specifications.

One of the most important tasks of industry, noted the participants of the conference, is to bring the proportion of products marked with the honorary pentagon up to 21 percent (not including food products) by 1985. It is necessary to ensure that the Mark of Quality is awarded to the electric locomotives, screw-cutting, pipe-cutting, and polishing machine tools, electric insulating materials, magnetic starters, gas stoves, welding units, electric motors, electric loaders, control computers, peat harvesting machinery, hydrofoils, agricultural equipment, and other important products which dictate the technical level of industry.

It was pointed out that the ministries of construction, agriculture, and Georgian SSR Gosstroy should also introduce the certification of housing and other buildings in addition to the certification of individual basic units, parts, and designs produced by the enterprises of the construction industry and the construction materials industry.

It was noted at the conference that the ministries, departments, associations and enterprises, scientific-research institutes, and design bureaus must in the near future work out comprehensive-overall scientific-technical, economic and social programs while taking individual regions and territorial production systems into consideration, and complete the documentation of each enterprise by the end of the current year.

The conference placed many important tasks before agricultural workers. The Ministry of Agriculture of the republic should work out an overall plan of measures for managing agricultural enterprises in the first half of 1981 and during the Fifth Five-Year Plan introduce this system into all agricultural enterprises and develop a selective system for developing highly productive varieties of agricultural products.

The participants of the conference talked about those measures which are being undertaken for the development of overall programs: "Tobacco", "Tea", "Grapes", "Grape Wine", and others. It was pointed out that the ministries of trade and the food industry must improve the effectiveness of quality control with respect to products intended for sale, exclude the penetration of low-quality products into the trade network, improve work on the study of consumer demand, and give more consideration to the results of such a study in the planning of product output.

The participants of the second republic scientific-practical conference expressed confidence in the fact that the implementation of measures worked out at the conference will help the ministries, departments, associations, enterprises, construction projects, scientific institutes, kolkhozes, and sovkhozes to accomplish the numerous tasks of the forthcoming 11th Five-Year Plan.

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